THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXI OCTOBER 1947 NUMBER 4

CHARLES E. BAKER, *Editor*

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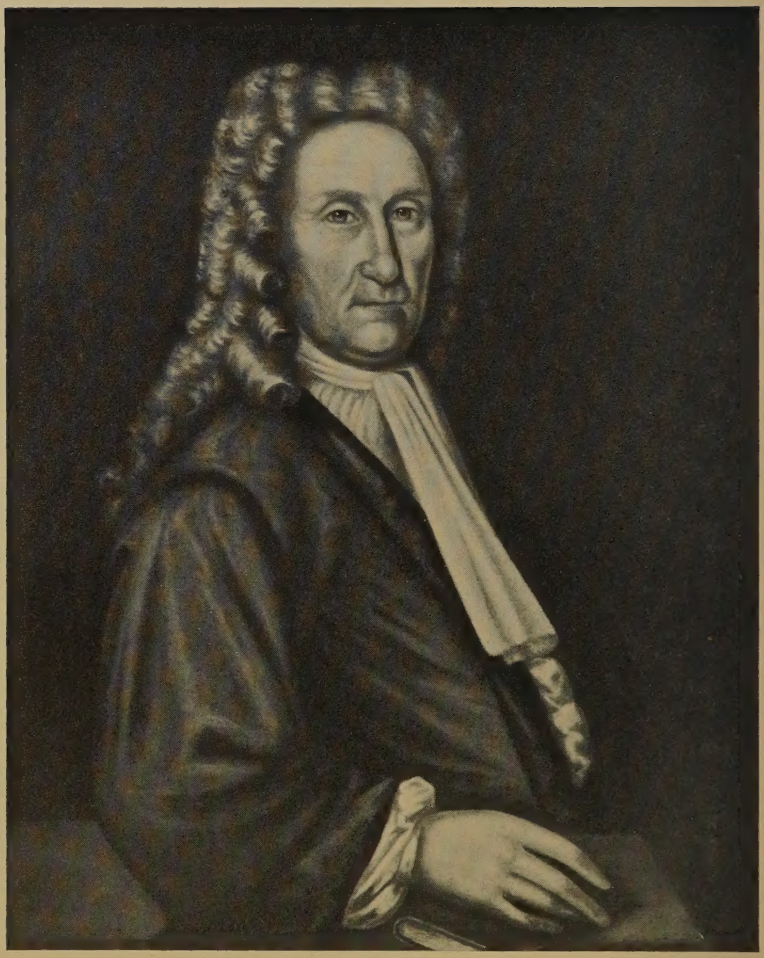

GERARDUS BEEKMAN (1653–1723)

Son of William Beekman, who arrived with Stuyvesant from Holland in 1647, Gerardus served as a member of the Governors' Councils from 1702 till his death. He was Acting Governor (1709–10) when the letter of November 10, 1709, conveying Queen Anne's instructions for the reception of the Palatines was written and received.

Attributed to Evert Duyckinck III

In the possession of Dr. Fenwick Beekman

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"HER MAJESTY DOES PARTICULARLY RECOMMEND"

by Alexander J. Wall, Jr.

INCLUDED in Volume I of the Beekman Family Papers recently deposited with the Society by the Beekman Family Association is a manuscript letter which calls to mind our contemporary problem of resettling Europe's displaced population. This document, however, is dated Whitehall, November 10, 1709, and is addressed to the Honorable Gerard[us] Beekman as President of Her Majesty's Council in the Province of New York. It contains a request for the temporary lodging and provisioning of some 3,000 Palatines due to sail shortly for the New World city, and is signed by Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, whom Queen Anne had appointed, in December 1706, secretary of state for the southern department.

Between April and late October of 1709, about 13,500 immigrants, mostly from the Rhenish Palatinate, arrived, with the

aid of the British government, in England. The Thirty Years War plus recurrent subsequent invasions by the armies of Louis XIV, the resulting famine, religious insecurity, and the cruel winter of 1708 had all served to make these people receptive to the enticing advertising of English proprietors of the colonies in America. Pamphlets describing the New World in glowing terms were liberally distributed throughout the Rhine Valley and on-the-spot promoters of these colonization schemes also did much to interest the dissatisfied.

This tide of humanity moved towards England by way of Holland and was then ferried to the British Isles on the command of Queen Anne, who could not stand by to see thousands perish.

Upon their arrival in England they were fed and housed by the British government, who began casting about in search of a suitable settling-ground. Proposals to send them to South America, the West Indies, Newfoundland, and the Welsh mines were not acted upon. Instead, some 3,000 were sent to Ireland, another large party was shipped to North Carolina, and about 3,000 were embarked for New York where, it was confidently expected, they could be settled in the Hudson Valley to inaugurate the manufacture of tar for the naval stores of Britain.

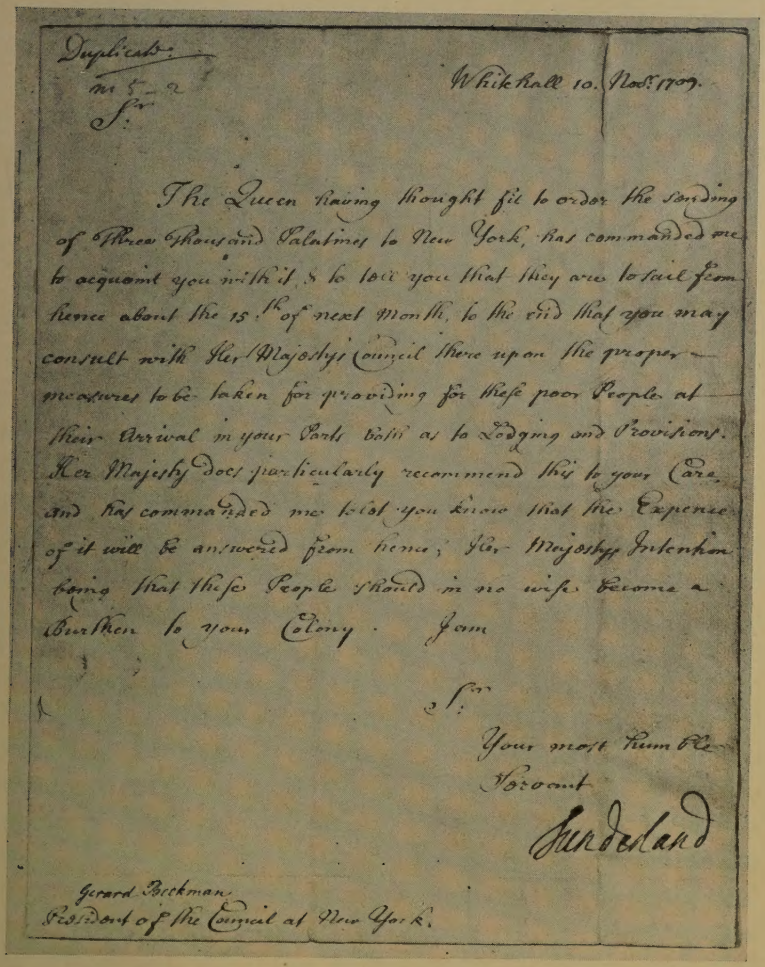
The letter, which is the official notification of the impending arrival of these immigrants, is printed in full:

*Duplicate**
S.r

Whitehall 10. Nov:r 1709

The Queen having thought fit to order the sending of Three Thousand [of the poor] Palatines to New York, has commanded me to acquaint you with it, & to tell you that they are to sail from hence about the 15:th of next Month, to the end that you may consult with Her Majesty's Council there upon the proper measures to be taken for providing for these poor People at their Arrival in your Parts both as to Lodging and Provisions. Her Majesty does particularly recommend this to your Care,

*There are two copies in the Beekman Family Papers, Volume I, the other marked *Triplicate* differing only in the insertion of the phrase *of the poor* as indicated above.



Duplicate.
No 5 — 2
Sr

Whitehall 10. Novr 1709.

The Queen having thought fit to order the sending of Three Thousand Palatines to New York, has commanded me to acquaint you with it & to tell you that they are to sail from hence about the 15th of next Month, to the end that you may consult with Her Majestys Council there upon the proper measures to be taken for providing for these poor People at their Arrival in your Port both as to Lodging and Provisions. Her Majesty does particularly recommend this to your Care, and has commanded me to let you know that the Expence of it will be answered from hence; Her Majestys Intention being that these People should in no wise become a Burthen to your Colony. I am

Sr

Your most humble
Servant
Sunderland

Gerard Beekman
President of the Council at New York.

[SECRETARY-OF-STATE] SUNDERLAND TO GERARD[US] BEEKMAN

Conveying Queen Anne's Instructions for the Reception of the Palatines

Dated: "Whitehall 10. Novr: 1709."
Addressed to: "President of the Council at New York."

In the Beekman Family Papers, Volume I
On Permanent Deposit at the Society by the Beekman Family Association, 1947

and has commanded me to let you know that the Expence of it will be answered from hence; Her Majesty's Intention being that these People should in no wise become a Burthen to your Colony. I am

S:r

Your most humble
Servant

SUNDERLAND

[Gerard Beekman,] President of the Council at New York.

[*Subscribed*:] On Her Ma:tys Service

To the Honourable
[Gerard] Beekman President
of Her Ma:tys Council in the
Province of New York
New : York

In the absence of Governor Robert Hunter, who had not yet arrived to take up his duties here, and because of the lack of a lieutenant governor (Queen Anne had revoked Lieutenant Governor Ingoldesby's commission on September 17, 1709), the communication was addressed to Gerard Beekman, President of the Council. Beekman, a physician who resided in Flatbush between the years 1679 and 1704, was born in 1653 and married Magdalene Abeel of Albany on October 25, 1677. Because he had been a member of Jacob Leisler's Council and was associated with Leisler's activities, he was condemned to death under Governor Sloughter. He was, however, pardoned on the Queen's order to become, on May 3, 1702, a member of the Council under Lord Cornbury and its President after Lieutenant Governor Ingoldesby's commission was revoked, in charge of the administration of the government pending the arrival of Governor Hunter. He died at the age of seventy on October 10, 1723.

Upon receipt of the communication, there was an immediate widespread fear that the arrival of the Palatines would aggravate the already-existing scarcity of bread, and Beekman was petitioned by the local City Fathers to institute preventive measures.

This resulted in an order on May 18, 1710, by the Council that bread in the hands of commissioners at Albany be sent to New York and sold. That the scarcity of other foods was also anticipated is shown by the fact that on May 15th sailing papers were refused to a shipmaster for his cargo of pork and peas because of the expected arrival of the Palatines. This concern is easily understood when one realizes that the total population of New York City and County totalled little over 4,800.

Between June 13th and 16th most of the vessels bearing the Palatines arrived. Having been en route about six months, the immigrants were in a deplorable, sickly condition. Four hundred and seventy had died on the voyage and during their first month here. Many more were ravaged with disease, of which 250 subsequently died during their sojourn in New York, as indicated by Peter Romer's petition of September 5, 1711, to the Governor for payment of £59 for making their coffins. In response to a petition from the Mayor and in conformance with the Queen's command to provide lodging and provisions for them, President Beekman recommended to the Council that the Palatines be quarantined on Nutten (now Governors) Island and that huts be constructed for them there. Three doctors were appointed to inspect the immigrants for contagious diseases before debarkation. Pending the construction of the huts they were quartered in tents probably shipped for the purpose from England. The encampment must have resembled a military establishment, for contemporary records indicate that the entire party was divided into six companies, over each of which a captain was appointed to command them.

The immigrants were slow in recovering from their illnesses. Typhus was epidemic and doctors were in constant attendance. In order to protect the Palatines during their stay here, a proclamation embodying some of the provisions of our recent OPA was issued by Governor Hunter, who had arrived on June 14, 1710, prohibiting all persons from hoarding provisions or exacting extravagant prices for them. He also signed an ordinance for

establishing courts of judicature on Nutten Island for governing the Palatines. In addition, the Governor and Council solved the problem of caring for the orphans of parents who had died en route by apprenticing them. However, they appear to have gone a step too far when they also apprenticed other children whose parents were judged to have too many to care for and still perform the expected labor of making tar. The arbitrary apprenticing of children caused many heartaches and in numerous cases permanently separated families. This became a chief grievance of the Palatines.

Those who like happy endings will be disappointed to read that their settlement on both sides of the Hudson Valley about one hundred miles above New York City in the fall of 1710 brought no surcease of their hardships. During the two years which followed, the attempts on the part of Hunter to produce tar came to naught. Poor instruction, poor food, unwilling labor, dissatisfaction with their lot, and financial difficulties resulting in an end of government subsistence doomed the project to failure, leaving the Governor with a large personal debt and the Palatines in as wretched circumstances as ever.

With the failure of government subsistence, they were allowed to shift for themselves. Some stayed on the land originally assigned them but many more moved to the Schoharie Valley where, after settlement, they became involved in land-grant difficulties. There were subsequent movements of these Palatines to the Mohawk Valley and to Pennsylvania, and some dozen years elapsed before most of them were permanently settled.

As evidenced by their endurance of prolonged hardships, the Palatines were of good stock, thrifty and industrious by nature, and those who succeeded in weathering their adversities became a distinct asset to the communities in which they settled. One notable member of the Palatine band was John Peter Zenger who, at the age of ten, was apprenticed to William Bradford, New York's first licensed printer, and who later became famous in American history for his fight for the freedom of the press.

WILLIAM RICKARBY MILLER (1818–1893)

by GRACE MILLER CARLOCK*

With the collaboration of members of the Society's Staff

WILLIAM R. MILLER AND SON[1]

IN RECENT years scholarship has come more and more to recognize that the early American artists who recorded the features and dress of our ancestors, the landscape in which they moved, the wilderness that beckoned them, their estates and institutional architecture, the sites of their historic accomplishments, their arteries of commerce, or the homely genre pictures of their daily lives, merit study not only as contributors to our cultural heritage but as indispensable documentors of our social history. Many have already been rescued from oblivion and assumed their proper stature. Others remain hardly more

* EDITOR'S NOTE: The author of this article is the artist's granddaughter, who has presented to the Society the following items relating to the subject of this pioneer study:

Birth certificate of William Rickarby Miller, signed by the attending physician, William Taylor. Staindrop, England, May 20, 1818.

Marriage certificate of William R. Miller and Ann Maria Furber. New York, May 20, 1851.

Engraved calling card of Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Miller, 1 Perry St.

Two engraved certificates of correct deportment to Miss Ann Maria Furber, from P. S. No. 14, New York. January and February, 1838, and February, 1840.

Bill from B. Lavan, undertaker, for burial of William R. Miller. West Chester (now part of The Bronx), July 28, 1893.

A. L. S. from W. R. Miller to his sister Dorothy, dated New York City, February 10, 1848. (With a typed transcript.)

Typewritten copy of a story by William R. Miller, "The Basket-Maker of Bloomingdale" (1884).

Daguerreotype of William R. Miller with his infant son, William Furber Miller; a carte-de-visite photograph of Miller; and a tintype of Mrs. William R. Miller (Ann Maria Furber).

[1] William Furber Miller (1852–1905), the painter's eldest child. This daguerreotype was made in New York, 1853–4, and is a gift from the author.

than names on a few recognized canvases dispersed among museums, dealers' galleries, and private collections.

William Rickarby Miller is one of these. Though a prolific painter of the Hudson River School throughout the latter half of the 19th century, unsurpassed in the delicacy and exactitude of his woodland or architectural delineations, he has been accorded no critical study based upon a representative collection of his work nor any biographical inquiry worth mention. It has been known since The New-York Historical Society published its *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record* (1943) that Miller worked and exhibited in New York during five of the years 1853–1860, that his given name was William and his middle initial R., and that he had done some lovely documentary watercolors, one of which was described in the *Quarterly Bulletin* of this Society.[2] But that was about all. Up to the present, little was known of the scope of his work and nothing at all of his origin, background, and personal life.

HIS LIFE

Recent investigation by his descendants* has disclosed the fact that William Rickarby Miller was born May 20, 1818, at Staindrop, County Durham, near Darlington, in England, the son of Joseph and Martha Rickarby Miller, who were Quakers. William was one of five children and early in life inherited a love of sketching and painting from his father, who also was an artist and is thought to have kept an art shop in Staindrop. Early student sketches are extant, dated 1836 to 1844, which were done in Hartlepool, Newcastle, Staindrop, London, and other English cities and towns, and on the Tyne.

In the fall of 1844 or the winter of 1845, Miller embarked with a sister Margaret and his two brothers John and Baynes, in a sailing vessel for the United States. His sister and brothers went

[2] "The Nathaniel Prime Mansion," by Dorothy C. Barck, in NYHS *Quart. Bull.*, April 1944, pp. 54–56.

* The author is especially indebted to Mr. R. Reid Coleman of Cleveland, grandson of Dorothy Miller Coleman, the artist's sister.

on to Maumee City, Ohio, while William, after a short stay in New York City, moved to Buffalo. The first listing of "Wm. R. Miller, Artist," in a New York City directory is that in *Doggett's* for 1847–48. His home and studio from then to 1851 were at 289 Broadway, and thereafter, with the single exception of 1852, his name appears in every New York City directory through 1893, the year of his death.

A letter of February 10, 1848, to his sister Dorothy in England, records the fact that he had begun working for the American Art Union in the medium of watercolor, "a branch of Painting scarcely at all cultivated here." And, though he subsequently did notable work in oils and with the pen, watercolor was to remain his principal forte until his death. His early struggles, hard work, and persistence are recounted in this letter, but the temptation to return to England was overbalanced by his feeling that "this is indeed the Country for a hard-working man." "Many things in America," he continued, "I like exceedingly, its climate is so superior to home, its chances of doing better, etc." He complained, however, of being "lonely and sometimes dull," and that "a bachelor's life is in America of all lives the most miserable," though for a time, while residing in Buffalo, he had had "many a jolly tea, and kept 3 cats beside, think of that! it's enough, as the live Yankee says 'To melt a Rock, and split a Cabbage'!"

But Miller's bachelor days were happily numbered, for he was soon to woo and win a studious young lady who—until the young artist's charm drove the thought from her head—had aspirations to be a grammar teacher. She was Ann Maria Furber, of 55 Stanton Street, New York, daughter of Nicholas P. Furber and Jane A. (Bloomer) Furber. The wedding day was set for May 20, 1851, Miller's thirty-third birthday.

Meanwhile, sister Margaret in Maumee City had been urging her parents and sister Dorothy to come to America. "There would be plenty of work here for father on the Boats," she had written as early as 1846; "—you have little idea how beautifully

they are painted off—indeed it is the only place where you could see pictures in this Western World, of course they are painted on the panels." Whether or not it was the prospect of painting river-boat panels that decided father Joseph Miller, the fact remains that he, his wife Martha, his daughter Dorothy, and her fiancé Richard Coleman, embarked on a sailing vessel making its trial crossing, and arrived in New York City on May 20, 1851—the very day William R. Miller and Ann Maria Furber were to be married. Accordingly, two weddings were arranged for that day. William and Ann were married by Reverend E. M. Chapin, Pastor of the Fourth Universalist Society (Church of the Divine Paternity) on Broadway between Prince and Spring Streets, and Dorothy and Richard by Reverend S. H. Weston of Trinity Parish.

Miller's parents and his newly married sister went on to Ohio, first to Toledo, then to Cleveland where they settled. Joseph Miller was thought by his family to be the first professional artist in the Cleveland district, though not all the paintings which may be found in Ohio from his brush were painted while he resided there. His son Baynes had brought a collection of the elder Miller's pictures from England and taken them to Maumee City in 1845, but (as Margaret wrote from there in October of that year) "he never offered them for sale—indeed America is no country for pictures."

William R. Miller's own career soon refuted his sister's pessimistic observation. He took his bride to live at 1 Perry Street in the block sometimes called Ashland Place, where they lived from 1851 to 1875. (The later extension of Seventh Avenue southward required the demolition of their home.) There, during the first dozen years of his married life, Miller also kept his studio. Their first son, William Furber Miller, who became a prominent amateur journalist and painted as a hobby, was born May 22, 1852, and four other children followed: Ann Maria, an artist in her own right and, of all the children, the most compatible with her father; Thomas Iselton Miller, a life-long yacht captain,

mineralogist, and World War I construction-superintendent of mine-sweepers and sub-chasers, who, at 92 years of age, now lives on Staten Island; Joseph Baynes Miller; and John James Miller, the father of the author of this article.

Amid this growing and energetic family, William R. Miller's creative spirit seemed to flourish, for these were the most productive years of his life. By 1863, however, the family had crowded out the easel, and Miller set up a separate workshop. The successive addresses of his studio throughout his New York residence are:

1847–1851	289 Broadway	*1867*	658 Broadway
1851–1862	1 Perry Street	*1868–1877*	806 Broadway
1863	709 Broadway	*1878–1879*	808 Broadway
1863–1864	806 Broadway	*1880–1891*	61 Bleecker Street
1865–1866	1 Perry Street	*1892–1893*	744 Broadway

After 1875, Miller seems to have made his home in his studio with the single exception of the year 1889, when his home is listed separately at 332 Alexander Avenue.

In later life Miller's family, sadly enough, was estranged from their father, undoubtedly due to his temperamental nature, which a sister once described as being "always a little higher than the sky and a little lower than the earth"—and to his zeal for incessantly working at his beloved easel. His daughter, the nearest to him in talent and understanding, frequently accompanied him on his sketching trips. About 1873 Miller conceived and launched a project to record and publish *1,000 Gems* of American landscape and many of his pen-and-ink sketches were made with that in mind. Though the project was never completed, Miller did paint many of his later oils and watercolors from these sketches.

As the years rolled by, he lived a life of increasing simplicity, ever painting and sketching and finding it more and more difficult to part with his works. Though possessed of a certain stubbornness of character which led to lack of sympathetic under-

THE NATHANIEL PRIME MANSION, NEW YORK CITY

Watercolor by William R. Miller, 1854

The James B. Wilbur Fund, 1943

standing with his family, he shows in the few writings he has left behind a simplicity of soul, a genial humor, and an inherent love of nature and of music that are genuinely attractive.[3] His death came during July 1893, as indicated by the mortician's bill, rendered at West Chester (now part of The Bronx) on July 28th of that year.

HIS WORK

The *annus mirabilis* of William Rickarby Miller's artistic life was 1853, the year in which three notable events brought public recognition to his work and reward for his years of devoted

[3] This is especially evident in a little story he wrote a few years before his death, entitled "The Basket-Maker of Bloomingdale," the scene being laid at Stryker's Bay, New York. The original MS. is owned by the Misses Ellen and Margaret Peters of Brooklyn, but a typescript has been deposited at The New-York Historical Society.

labor. Those events were: (1) the first exhibition of his paintings at the National Academy of Design; (2) the first publication of his work as book illustration; and (3) the first of a long series of commissions for the illustrated weeklies.

From 1853 to 1876 Miller contributed to fourteen annual exhibitions of the National Academy of Design. The years of his exhibitions with the addresses listed in the catalogues are: 1853, 1854, 1858, 1859, 1860, and 1861—1 Ashland Place (1 Perry Street, which was at the junction with Greenwich Avenue); 1863—709 Broadway; 1864—806 Broadway; 1866 and 1868—1 Ashland Place (1 Perry Street); 1870, 1871, 1874, and 1876—806 Broadway. The titles of the canvases and watercolors exhibited are too numerous to list in this place.

G. P. Putnam & Company commissioned Miller to illustrate their publication: *Homes of American Authors* (1853), where four reproductions of his paintings by steel engraving and six by woodcut will be found. The subjects include: Washington Irving's residence at Tarrytown; William Cullen Bryant's at Roslyn, L.I.; Ralph Waldo Emerson's and Nathaniel Hawthorne's, at Concord, Mass.; John James Audubon's in New York City; James Kirke Paulding's at Tarrytown; and a view of Sleepy Hollow. Miller became a fine delineator of houses, capturing the spirit of each and the charm of their grounds with ingratiating success. His American authors' homes were only the first of many fine "house portraits" to come from his hand.

The first of his contributions to the illustrated weeklies of the mid-19th century appeared in *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* for January 8, 1853. It was a "View of the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow, New York." During the next couple of years a dozen and a half more signed views by Miller, not counting a probable half dozen that were not signed, also appeared in *Gleason's*. His second published work, a "View on the Hudson River near Newburg," appeared on January 29, 1853, in Frank Leslie's *The Illustrated News* and during the next six months some dozen more of Miller's works were used in the

VIEW OF THE OLD DUTCH CHURCH AT SLEEPY HOLLOW

Woodcut of drawing by William R. Miller, 1852
(The first of his drawings to be published)
From *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*, January 8, 1853, p. 17

same magazine. In 1855 and 1856 Miller sought a further outlet for his productions in *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* (the successor of *Gleason's*), which published at least seven signed views, scattered geographically from Charleston, S. C., to Canterbury, N. H. Other regions recorded in the views published 1853–1856 include Baltimore and Annapolis, New York City and vicinity, the Hudson Valley (most heavily represented), the Mohawk Valley, the Lake George region, Hartford, Conn., Concord, Mass., and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

It is by no means certain that Miller visited every spot so represented. Since three views are copies of paintings by Durand or Cropsey, three are of foreign places he certainly never visited, and one of the Concord scenes is probably based on a daguerreotype by Joseph F. Kimball, the possibility exists that some of the remaining subjects also were drawn from the work of others.

PHILIPSE-BEEKMAN MANSION AND MILL, SLEEPY HOLLOW
Watercolor by William R. Miller, 1852
Gift of Dr. Fenwick Beekman, 1941

Proof is ample, however, that the greater number were sketched by Miller on the spot, and that in the early 1850's he spent considerable time in the Catskills sketching their beauteous waterfalls and woodlands, and at Sleepy Hollow, Herkimer Falls, Little Falls, N.Y., Lake George, and Rondout Creek.

To what extent the subjects reproduced represent the interests of the editors rather than those of the artist is uncertain. There are a dozen city or town scenes, including college buildings, private residences, and churches. Another ample dozen show rivers or streams, including various falls, mills, and mill ponds. A half dozen views about Lake George and historic Fort Ticonderoga, several monuments, several woodland scenes, a railroad viaduct, the Narrows from Staten Island, and the copies mentioned above make up the remainder. Practically all are sites of specific romantic or historic interest, faithfully portrayed and

identified. Many of his other works record for posterity scenes of horse-propelled barges on New York and New Jersey canals now extinct, old water mills, and ferry houses. Probably Miller was commissioned to do a certain few specific subjects, including the copies mentioned, but for the most part he chose from nature what interested him.

The careful manner in which he signed, dated, and titled nearly every picture he made not only increases his value as a documentary artist but greatly simplifies the problem of the art historian interested in his technical development. Miller's favorite medium, throughout his creative life, was watercolor, though he also worked prodigiously in oils, crayon, pen and ink, and ink and gouache. All his work is meticulous in execution to the point of almost becoming photographic in its realism and demonstrates his innate love of nature and his keenly analytical mind.

The New-York Historical Society is fortunate in having in its collection a dozen original works by Miller ranging in date from 1852 to 1886. Executed chiefly in his favorite medium, watercolor, they also include specimens of his later ink-and-gouache and oil techniques. The group as a whole provides an excellent cross-section of the development of his style and demonstrates the meticulous craftsmanship which is apparent throughout his entire work.

The artist's style poses no real problems for the art historian, for Miller found soon after his arrival in America a technique which evidently was so well suited to his capabilities that he maintained it fairly consistently over the years. Although in some of his earlier American works such as the *Castle Philipse, 1852* (reproduced here), he depended more upon washes than upon his draftsmanship, his style soon swung more sharply in the direction of line drawing—possibly as a result of the work he was doing for the illustrated weeklies. The technique developed during this period, which ofttimes seems more a colored pencil drawing than pure watercolor, he continued to employ not only through the 'Fifties and 'Sixties but down in fact to the very year

THE LENT-RAPALJE HOUSE, BOWERY BAY
Oil painting by William R. Miller, 1877
Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie, 1947

of his death, in such subjects as the Society's *Nathaniel Prime Mansion* (1854) (reproduced here), *The Lane Cottage* (1854), *Old Cromwell House* (1855), *Mount Morris* (1855), and *On Rondout Creek* (1865). Whatever development may be observed in his technique is in the direction of broader atmospheric effects in his oil paintings, such as the Society's *Lent-Rapalje House* (1877) (reproduced here), or in the ink-and-gouache sketches for his *1,000 Gems* of American landscape which he began to produce from 1873 onwards.

Just as characteristic of Miller's style as his precise drawing is the sequence of delicate and almost silvery watercolor washes he applied over the top of his pencil work. Cool pale-greens and blue-greens predominate, relieved only by occasional clear blues in the sky or small touches of yellow, orange, or red in the foreground. Delicacy and refinement are as characteristic of his treatment of trees and foliage as they are of his architectural subject matter. In oils, however, Miller used a warmer, richer palette.

ADDENDUM: WILLIAM R. MILLER

by Donald A. Shelley

IN THE brief interval since the foregoing article on William R. Miller went to the printer, the Society has received through the generosity and interest of Mr. George A. Zabriskie a comprehensive collection of the artist's work comprising 100 items. This collection is completely representative of Miller's work not only because it includes examples in oil, watercolor, pen and ink, and gouache, but also because it extends from the first watercolors he produced as a youth of 19 in England to some of the latest of his *1,000 Gems* sketched at the age of 71 in America, four years before his death. It is apparent likewise from these drawings and paintings that on several occasions, at least, Miller departed from landscape and tried his hand at portraiture.

Among the hundred items of Mr. Zabriskie's important gift are 3 oil paintings, 2 portraits and a view of *Central Park at 102nd Street*, 9 watercolors, 6 pencil drawings, 42 pen-and-ink sketches for his *1,000 Gems*, 23 woodcuts from illustrated news weeklies from 1853 onwards, and 17 engravings after drawings by Miller.

Of particular interest is the group of watercolors and drawings produced in England before Miller came to New York. Among them are several genre and landscape subjects of great charm, and a pencil drawing from a Van Dyck portrait of Rubens and one inscribed "Newcastle 1840" which suggest that Miller probably attended an art school there. A rather ambitious romantic landscape in watercolor dated "1845 Buffalo" and painted soon after his arrival in this country already foretells the wide panoramic-landscape form he was to develop so successfully here.

Perhaps the key item of the new collection is the brilliant little watercolor self-portrait, signed and dated "Weehawken 1848." Though not identified by inscription on the painting itself, a comparison with the daguerreotype of Miller and his son presented to the Society by Mrs. Carlock leaves little doubt that it represents the artist. In this self-portrait, as well as several other

works of the period 1848 to 1852, the basic characteristics of his mature style are already in evidence. Whether working in oil, watercolor, pencil, or pen and ink, one is constantly aware of his careful attention to massing of form and clarity of detail.

Miller as the "successful artist" is adequately represented in the collection by woodcuts and engravings published from his drawings during the 1850's. One of the group of 23 woodcuts taken from *Ballou's Pictorial* bears the following interesting notation: "Please get some description of the enclosed from Mr. Miller. We don't know what it is. Ballou." Several of the 17 engravings from Miller's drawings appear to be proof sheets submitted to the artist for approval and kept by him; others have been partially colored.

Just as these prints from Miller's drawings characterize his chief work in the 1850's and his brilliant watercolors of the American countryside his chief preoccupation in the 1860's, so the last two decades of his life are typified by the lively pen-and-ink sketches for his *1,000 Gems* and by a limited number of oil paintings based upon these—as well as upon earlier—drawings. From the development seen in the 42 "Gem" subjects in the collection, dating from 1873 to 1889, it is possible to say that Miller reached the height of his powers in the early 1880's in several captivating New York and Staten Island scenes drawn upon gray paper and heightened with white. Evidently the artist himself sensed this, for at the top of one sketch dated 1881 he wrote: "One of my finest" and signed his name "W. C^{r} Miller Corot"!

The Society's new Miller collection thus beautifully and completely fills out the story of his life and work beginning with his youth in England, his first success as an illustrator in the '50's, his competence as a watercolorist in the '60's, and his productiveness of pen-and-ink sketches and oil paintings in the '70's and '80's. Inasmuch as the collection arrived too late to be illustrated here, a few choice specimens will be included in the *Annual Report* and all of them in the first "one-man show" of the artist soon to be opened at the Society.*

* See p. 249 of this issue of the *Quarterly*.

PORTRAITS IN LITTLE

A REINSTALLATION OF THE SOCIETY'S EARLY AMERICAN MINIATURES

by DONALD A. SHELLEY

ONE of the Society's art treasures which has never received the attention it deserves, either because of the minute size of the objects it contains or because of its relatively obscure position in the galleries, is the extensive collection of early American miniatures. Although a nucleus for the collection was formed well back in the 19th century, its growth in recent years has been so rapid that for reasons of space as well as for better utilization of the resources of the collection, some careful reorganization was necessary. During the past summer, therefore, the miniatures of the late 18th and early 19th centuries were reviewed, completely rearranged, and labelled.

WILLIAM SMITH (1728–1793)
By Henry Stubble, *c.* 1788
Gift of Dr. David Hosack, 1828

In this new installation in the 4th-floor east corridor, particular stress has been laid upon uniformity of medium, chronology, and juxtaposition of individual artists' styles. Inasmuch as the principal medium of miniature painting in this country was watercolor on ivory, the examples shown are, with few exceptions, executed in this medium. Enamels, colored photographs, silhouettes, and cameos previously shown have now been omitted. As in the portrait galleries themselves, the miniatures now proceed case by case in approximate chronological sequence from

the period of the Revolution to the Civil War. This sequence not only emphasizes the historical nature of the collection, but enables the spectator to survey at close range and in a limited space the development of American costume down to 1865, as well as the progress of one of the most popular arts of the period. Works by, or possibly by, one artist have been brought together in one case in order to show development of style and facilitate comparison with the styles of others. Finally, miniatures formerly exhibited in other parts of the building have, whenever possible, been integrated again with the main collection and the visitor or student will now find all of them easily accessible.

Though not as rich in likenesses of famous statesmen as the life-size portrait collection, the Society's miniatures nevertheless include numerous important subjects as well as works by outstanding artists. High on such a list would be the miniatures of *Mayor Philip Hone* (whose important diary the Society owns), *Mr. and Mrs. Robert Fulton*, *Gilbert Stuart*, *Aaron Burr*, and *William Cullen Bryant*—all of artistic, as well as historic, significance. Of romantic interest would be the likeness of *Matilda Hoffman*, betrothed to Washington Irving; of special importance to the Society, the fine miniatures of its founder *John Pintard* and his wife by John Ramage. The preponderance of New York subjects in the Society's collection is matched by a corresponding list of New York artists.

Over the more than 75 years the art of miniature painting flourished, it will be recalled that New York was one of the three or four chief centers of activity. The Society's collection today appropriately reflects that activity, both the late 18th-century works of Ramage, the Robertsons, and Trumbull, and the marked revival which took place during the first quarter of the 19th century in New York City. So homogeneous and so characteristic is the work of this early 19th-century group that they can truly be considered a regional *school* of miniature painting.

Stemming chiefly from Jarvis and Wood, who set up their partnership here in New York in 1804, this group included not

only Jarvis' pupil, Henry Inman, and Inman's pupil-partner, T. S. Cummings, but also Wood's pupil, the popular painter of fashionable miniatures, Nathaniel Rogers. Other artists active here after 1800 were William Dunlap and Anson Dickinson, the latter receiving instruction from Malbone as had Jarvis and Wood. Carrying on with Cummings the traditions of this earlier group were Dodge and MacDougall, the latter becoming finally in desperation a photographer as well as a miniature painter. Thus New York City witnessed not only the heights of the technique as practiced by the visiting foreigners of the 1780's and 1790's (John Ramage, Archibald Robertson, and Walter Robertson), but also the meritorious work of a school of native artists who in technique and charm frequently attained the excellence of their European models.

In 1941, during the compilation of the Society's *Catalogue of American Portraits*, the extent and quality of the collection of miniatures became increasingly apparent. As a result, the number of illustrations of these "portraits in little" to be included in the printed catalogue was revised upwards. Virtually every miniature which could be attributed with any assurance to a definite artist was illustrated, in order to make the catalogue more useful to students. Even without the Peter Marié collection of 286 prominent New York women of the 1880's and 1890's, which after some consideration was not included in this issue of the Society's catalogue, the list of the early American miniatures ran to some 125 items. The size of the Marié collection is more indicative of its creator's zeal than of the productivity of the miniaturists active during his period, for the hey-day of the miniature ended with the widespread use of the photograph soon after the middle of the century.

Strange as it may seem, a study of the history of the Society's collection reveals its comparatively late development. As near as can be ascertained, its early American group at the close of the 19th century probably did not exceed one dozen miniatures. Possibly the first miniature to be received by the Society was the

JOHN LUDLOW MORTON
(1792–1871)
By Nathaniel Rogers, 1829

MRS. JOHN LUDLOW MORTON
(Emily Ellison)
By T. S. Cummings, 1829

Bequest of Emily (Ellison) Post, their granddaughter, 1944

William Smith by Henry Stubble, which was presented in 1828 by Dr. David Hosack. Whether or not the chief reason for the tardy formation of the collection as a whole was the continued practice of the art itself past the middle of the 19th century, the fact remains that the Society's holdings are almost entirely 20th-century gifts. If we except the Ramage and Anderson groups which came in during 1906 and 1912 respectively, the real foundations of the collection were actually laid in the period between the Kelby list of 1922, which included 35 miniatures, and the 1941 *Portrait Catalogue* listing 125 miniatures on ivory.

As late as 1941, however, several important gaps existed. In spite of our holdings of Ramage, the Robertsons, Trumbull, Fulton, Jarvis, Dickinson, and Ames, the Society had but one example of the three artists who, in Mr. Wehle's opinion, constitute "the backbone of the miniature painting art in America": Malbone, Fraser, and Trott. This single example was the attractive miniature of *Mrs. Alexander Macomb* by Benjamin Trott,

ISAAC JOHN GREENWOOD, 1ST
By John W. Dodge, 1832
Gift of the Misses Eliza R. Greenwood and Mary M. Greenwood, 1942

UNIDENTIFIED LADY
By Lawrence Sully (1769–1804)
Painted *c.* 1797
The Louis Durr Fund, 1943

which had been presented in 1895. Also lacking in 1941 were examples of the work of several of the most accomplished New York miniature painters on ivory active during the early 19th century, such as Inman, Wood, Dodge, and Rogers.

Since 1941 the Society has been fortunate enough to fill most of these gaps through accession of recent gifts and bequests, and through revision of earlier attributions. Research carried on for the 1941 *Portrait Catalogue* enabled the Curator to ascribe more than a dozen unattributed or incorrectly attributed miniatures to Dunkerley, Ramage, Verstille, Archibald Robertson, Walter Robertson, Anna Claypoole Peale, and several less-well-known artists. Since that time, generous gifts, bequests, and purchases have brought in additional works by Fraser, Lawrence Sully, Inman, Rogers, Dodge, MacDougall, and others. Within the past year alone miniatures by Benbridge, Malbone, Thomas Sully, and Sarah Goodridge have been added to the collection.

The Society's collection today, although it still lacks a fine miniature on ivory by Field or by Joseph Wood, nevertheless

illustrates more adequately than ever before the tremendous activity in miniature painting in the New York area.

The illustrations for this brief analysis of our miniatures have appropriately been selected from two donations that considerably strengthened this phase of the Society's collection. From the generous gift of the Misses Greenwood in 1942, which included one example each of Anson Dickinson and John W. Dodge as well as three works by John A. MacDougall, the fine miniature of *Isaac John Greenwood, 1st* (1795–1865) by John W. Dodge has been chosen for its high quality. From the interesting bequest of Emily Ellison Post in 1944, two excellent miniatures which were painted in 1829 by Nathaniel Rogers and T. S. Cummings, respectively, and represent *Mr. and Mrs. John Ludlow Morton* are shown. Embedded inside the front and back covers of an unusual sketch-book belonging to John Ludlow Morton, they are illustrated here because it is impossible to exhibit them in their original binding with the remainder of the Society's collection of early American miniatures.

NATHAN STARR, JR. (1784–1852)
By John Wesley Jarvis, 1808
Gift of Mrs. Robert Wells Starr, 1945

THE STORY OF TWO SILHOUETTES[1]

by CHARLES E. BAKER

KISH-KAU-KOU (*c.* 1774–1825)
Chippewa Chief, Saginaw, Mich.
Silhouette: "T.P. Jones Fecit," 1808
In Beekman Family Papers, Vol. I from Beekman Family Assoc., 1947

PRETTY Catharine Sanders may have misused her eyes in her father's interest or for her own amusement, or perhaps the impulsive young chieftain needed no coquettish encouragement, but certain it is that on the 8th day of March, 1808, she had captured his heart. His name, spelled variously in different documents, is rendered in the Treaty of Saginaw "Kish-kau-kou." As hereditary chief of the powerful Chippewas at Saginaw, Michigan, he had come far to promote the commerce of his tribe.

In the early days of Schenectady, when Alexander Lindsey Glen, third-named of its fifteen original proprietors, had built his mansion (1658) on the north bank of the Mohawk and named the estate in honor of his native "Scotia," it had been Glens who carried on the thriving Indian trade and Mohawks who brought their furs to "Scotia" for barter. But civilization inundated the New York Indian lands and in 1739 the founder's great-granddaughter Deborah Glen had married John Sanders of Albany and brought him home to live at "Scotia" and become its owner. Here was born John Sanders 2d (1757–1834), Catharine's father; here in 1777 he brought his cousin Deborah

[1] In the BEEKMAN FAMILY PAPERS, Volume I, placed on permanent deposit at The New-York Historical Society by the Beekman Family Association, 1947.

Sanders from Albany to be his bride; and here on October 10th, 1785, was born their daughter Catharine, the heroine of this tale.

By 1808 her father had become a prominent political figure: New York State senator, 1799–1802; member of the Council of Appointment in 1800 under Governor John Jay, his associates being DeWitt Clinton, Ambrose Spencer, and John Roseboom; and a future delegate to the New York Constitutional Convention of 1821. But John Sanders 2d nevertheless took time to carry on the Indian-trading traditions of "Scotia," and so it was that on March 8, 1808, he entertained Kish-kau-kou, a chief of the Chippewas, who promptly fell in love with Catharine and asked if he might have her as his squaw.[2]

CATHARINE SANDERS (1785–1835)
Married James W. Beekman, 1810
Silhouette by "Gladding," 1808
In Beekman Family Papers, Vol. I from Beekman Family Assoc., 1947

"Kecha-o Geboway chief"—so Sanders spelled the name as his ear had caught it—was "[born] in a west bay in lake Superior about seven hundred miles northwest of Detr[oit and] resides now near Sagina[w, Michigan. He] is about thirty four y[ears old] and appears to be a wise intelligent man. . . ."[3] His tribe

[2] The chief's presumption is understandable when we consider his background. For almost two hundred years the Chippewas had traded almost exclusively with the French of Canada, who regarded the intermarriage of races with a much more tolerant eye than the English of the colonies or the new Republic. Yet even Sir William Johnson had taken an Indian squaw to wife and had a family by her. And Kish-kau-kou's closest friend among the American traders, Jacob Smith, had an Indian squaw and half-breed family in the Chippewa country as well as a white family in Detroit—a practice not uncommon in that day among backwoods traders. Eventually Kish-kau-kou's own daughter married a white man.

[3] This record is in John Sanders' own hand, written on an oval paper which "was pasted on the back of Ketcha-o's [Kish-kau-kou's] likeness." It now resides

had spread out from their original homeland on the shores of Lake Superior, first to the country of the Hurons in Canada, then by conquest of the Sauks, whom they exterminated in the Battle of Skull Island (traditionally in 1520), to Michigan, which they successfully defended against a long series of Iroquois aggressions incited by jealousy of the growing Chippewa-French trade. The Chippewa nation had fanned out along the Saginaw River and its tributary streams to occupy the entire Michigan Peninsula, and here at the apex of the fan, the heartland of the nation and its central camping ground, upon which all their web of trails and arteries of commerce converged, sat Chief Kish-kau-kou and his mighty band, secure in his stronghold and arbiter of all who would trade with his nation or the Indians beyond.

Not wishing to offend so powerful a chief and so endanger the plans he had made to send his son Jacob into the Chippewa country as a trader, John Sanders contrived to soften his refusal of Kish-kau-kou as a son-in-law by offering, in lieu of his daughter's hand, her silhouette portrait cut, as the embossed signature shows, by "Gladding." Catharine Sanders was then twenty-two years of age, pert and pretty. Not to be outdone, the proud chieftain had his own portrait cut ("T. P. Jones Fecit") for presentation to the unobtainable lady of his heart, and, upon leave-taking from his host, gave him a curious cane in the form of a snake coiled 'round a rod, like the caduceus of Mercury.

Catharine Sanders soon forgot her unsuccessful Chippewa suitor and on April 9, 1810, was married by the Reverend Cornelius Bogardus of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Schenectady to Gerard Beekman (1774–1833) of New York and went to live in the Beekman Mansion near the old "Kissing Bridge" on Manhattan, where her son, the Hon. James W. Beekman, was born November 22, 1815. She outlived her hus-

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with the silhouettes in the first volume of the Beekman Family Papers. The spelling "Geboway" is intended, of course, for "Ojibway" as the Chippewa tribal name is sometimes rendered.

band by two years, dying October 15, 1835. The silhouette portrait of Kish-kau-kou had been left behind at "Scotia," forgotten.

But what of Kish-kau-kou himself? Returning to his wigwam on the Saginaw with the prized image of his lost lady love, he consoled himself with native squaws—for he is reputed to have had several—and with raising a son and heir, by name Che-mick, and a daughter who later married the German Jacob Gradroot, first white man to make a permanent settlement on the Lower Saginaw.

Affairs of state, however, soon left Kish-kau-kou little time for affairs of the heart. With the advent of the War of 1812, the Chippewas, remembering the 1807 Treaty of Detroit (by which they had lost southeastern Michigan) and American encroachments upon Indian lands everywhere, allied themselves with the English as the lesser of two evils. (As one of the Chippewa chiefs put it: "Our American Father wants . . . [our lands]; our English Father treats us better. He has never asked for them.") Kish-kau-kou, with his son Che-mick and a large band of warriors from the Saginaw, helped the British scare away General Hull at the capture of Detroit and in general made life miserable and precarious for the American settlements on the advanced frontier. Though many Chippewa braves were laid low during the ensuing conflict, no paleface was able to penetrate to Kish-kau-kou's stronghold on the Saginaw, unless as pinioned captives, with the memorable exception of a daring Indian trader, Jacob Smith, who rescued the Boyer children from captivity. The Treaty of Ghent (1814) left the whole Saginaw Valley securely in Chippewa hands.

Five years later, however, the War Department considered the Chippewas ripe for fresh dismemberment. White-man's diseases and fire-water, "greater than all other evils combined," were doing their work of disaster. The Government's objects were the cession of Indian title to all Michigan and a removal of the Chippewas west of the Mississippi or at least west of Lake

Michigan. General Lewis Cass, commissioned to effect those objects, chose Kish-kau-kou's bailiwick as the seat of the negotiations, sent runners throughout the Chippewa territory to summon the chiefs, and directed Louis Campau, who had established a trading post there after the War of 1812, to build the Council House and prepare for the reception of the negotiators. A company of United States soldiers was brought in on a Government vessel to keep the several thousand Indians on the treaty ground in a friendly mood.

Three chiefs of high repute acted as spokesmen for the Indians; one of the three was Kish-kau-kou. The tenor of their remarks was: "We are here to smoke the pipe of peace, but not to sell our lands . . . . Your people trespass upon our hunting grounds. You flock to our shores. Our waters grow warm. Our land melts like a cake of ice. Our possessions grow smaller and smaller. The warm wave of the white man rolls in upon us and melts us away. Our women reproach us. Our children want homes. Shall we sell from under them the spot where they spread their blankets? We have not called you here." "You do not know our wishes. Our people wonder what has brought you so far from your homes . . . ."

This was at the first council, which ended with Cass far from winning the Chippewa chiefs to his proposals. Unfortunately for the Indians, Kish-kau-kou "put himself out of condition at the close of the first day by drinking," and was unable to appear at the subsequent councils, "except the last, and then merely to affix his totem to the treaty after it had been engrossed for execution." So says Charles P. Avery, historian of the treaty, who further calls Kish-kau-kou "an Indian of violent temper, and in the excitement of liquor . . . reckless in the commission of outrage"—a judgment he seems to contradict in another passage where he says: Kish-kau-kou "was less dangerous in his wigwam quietly drunk than in the Council Room tolerably sober." Whether the American commissioners, realizing this, encouraged the chief in his excesses is not recorded.

In any event, the Americans, by combining threats with cajolery and offering sizeable reservations to each of the Chippewa bands[4] instead of pressing for their removal from Michigan altogether, finally induced acceptance of the treaty. The instrument was signed by Lewis Cass and one hundred and fourteen Indian head-men, including Kish-kau-kou, on September 24, 1819.

During and before the dozen days of negotiation, trader Campau had advanced the chiefs some fifteen-hundred dollars worth of supplies against their expectations from the Government and when the silver was counted out after the signing General Cass suggested that Campau's claim be satisfied before the Indians received payment. To this the chiefs seemed inclined to agree until Kish-kau-kou, incited by trader Smith, objected: "We are your children; we want our money in our hands." This wish was complied with, which so angered Campau that he jumped from the platform where he had been resting his huge frame beside the Commissioners and struck Smith to the ground. Smith, a slight but wiry man, was giving back as good as he got when others stepped between them and stopped the fight. In revenge, Campau opened ten barrels of whiskey and stationed two men with dippers at the open barrelheads to ladle it out free to the Indians, who soon became so dangerously drunk as to raise

[4] In addition, the Treaty set aside 640 acres for each of the half-breed sons (John, James, and Peter) of Jacobus Van Sluyck Ryley, an early Indian trader from Schenectady, by "Menawcumegogua, a Chippewa woman." This is of interest to our story (1) because Ryley's Schenectady residence may have influenced Kish-kau-kou to visit there in 1808, and (2) because Ryley's return to Michigan in 1836 to see his sons may possibly have been the occasion of Jacob Sanders, his fellow-townsman, going there when he discovered his sister's silhouette.

Jacobus (sometimes called James) V. S. Ryley was born in Schenectady, October 3, 1761; married Jannetje Swits (by whom he had several daughters) in the Dutch church, August 18, 1792; died January 8, 1848, and lies buried in the town of his nativity. He had been for many years a Judge of Common Pleas, sometime sheriff of Schenectady County, and long-time postmaster of the city. His fame as an early Indian trader led the government to employ him on several occasions as commissioner and interpreter in the negotiation of Indian treaties. Apparently his residence among the Chippewas occurred between the end of his military service in the Revolution and the date of his marriage, for his half-breed sons were old enough to be "a great aid to the Americans in the War of 1812."

both war whoop and tomahawk. To Cass's desperate plea, "Louis! Louis! stop the liquor, Louis!" Campau replied: "General, you commenced it; you let Smith plunder me." Only by ordering Campau's warehouse seized by troops with fixed bayonets and prevailing on the traders to calm the Indians was Cass able to avert a tragedy. Years later, Campau said: "I lost my money; I lost my fight; I lost my liquor; but I got good satisfaction."

Bad blood persisted between Campau and Kish-kau-kou whose objection had precipitated the riot. The chief's wigwam was on the east bank of the Saginaw, directly across the river from the treaty ground where Campau had his trading post. The next year Campau sought to extend his operations by setting up a second post on Kish-kau-kou's camping ground, but the chief refused his people access to this post and went to Campau, saying: "I gave you the other side for trading; go there." So Campau was forced to abandon his new establishment, no doubt reporting his discomfiture to General Cass at Detroit.

Cass, now governor of the territory, sent David Henderson into the Saginaw Valley "to work for the Indians" in the interests of the Government. Henderson took his family with him and settled them at the treaty ground, the site of future Saginaw City. This displeased Kish-kau-kou, who saw in the circumstance the beginning of the end for Chippewa freedom in Michigan. During the agent's next absence in Detroit, the chief seized Mrs. Henderson and her children and let it be known, probably more to frighten other would-be settlers than with real intent, that he was going to kill them. Hearing of this at his trading post on the Flint—quite possibly with Kish-kau-kou's connivance—Jacob Smith mounted his horse and came at breakneck speed to Saginaw, where he "persuaded" his old friend Kish-kau-kou, after the latter had indulged in an effective display of bloodthirsty histrionics, to send the unoffending wife and children in the trader's care under a protective escort of six warriors, to Detroit. There the Indians were promptly pounced upon

and imprisoned in the fort, in imminent danger of massacre, until Smith's influence effected their release and safe conduct through the hostile territory of infuriated settlers.

These and similar "outrages" by Kish-kau-kou and his band induced the War Department in 1822 to order Major Daniel Baker with a detachment of the Third United States Infantry to proceed to Saginaw and build a fort on the Chippewas' great camping ground, practically under the nose of the recalcitrant chief. Far from cowed, Kish-kau-kou moved across to the fort-side of the river and set up his wigwam outside the stockade walls and within easy range of the blockhouse guns. He lost no opportunity of reminding the hundred and fifty white men in the fort that they were trespassers upon alien ground. One trick in particular, which must have given the old chief many a malicious chuckle, annoyed the garrison beyond the limits of endurance. Every night as the sentinel made his rounds his voice would sing out hourly upon a silence broken only by the howl of hungry wolves, "All's well!" And every night at midnight the sentry's "Twelve o'clock—all's well" would receive a mocking echo from Kish-kau-kou's wigwam, followed by a most blood-curdling war whoop: "All's well! ke-whoop-ke-kee-who-whoop! ye-ye-ye-yeep-ke-who!" The wives and children of the officers would start up screaming for their lives and sleepy soldiers rush to man the guns against an expected massacre. Then quiet would settle over all save the frayed nerves of the barracks' inmates.

Seeing that his men were "reaching the end of their tether," Major Baker finally decided to retaliate. Accordingly the soldiers loaded an old swivel to the muzzle with grape and canister, mounted it upon the pickets, and aimed it to riddle the roof of the old chief's wigwam and blow his bravado to kingdom come. As midnight approached, the garrison was all tense expectancy. At last "All's well!" with its fearful echo shattered the silence, and then: a deafening report shook the very buildings with its concussion and a fiery blast split the darkness to show where rattling canister and grape had grazed the wigwam and torn great

holes in the overhanging branches of the trees. Though Kish-kau-kou was unscathed, his midnight echo was heard no more.

The winter of 1822–23 was deathly cold and the garrison, cooped up in the fort by a four-foot fall of snow, suffered much hardship. And summer brought no relief. A malignant form of intermittent fever, made epidemic by swarms of vicious mosquitoes, brought many to their beds and among those who died were Major Baker's wife and daughter, his fifteen-year-old son Charles, and Lieutenant Nelson Baker, his adjutant and brother. No wonder the Major reported to the War Department, "nothing but Indians, muskrats and bull-frogs, could possibly subsist here." So Kish-kau-kou had his revenge after all, and in October 1823 Old Fort Saginaw was abandoned.

But the old chief's long struggle to keep back the tide of settlers which threatened to inundate his homeland was already a losing one. In August 1824, the American Fur Company, more effective than troops, took over the stockade and log houses of the old fort as a trading post, and already a blacksmith shop and several other traders were established where the future city was to grow. De Tocqueville, going there in 1831, reported:

> The village of Saginaw is the farthest point inhabited by Europeans to the Northwest of a vast peninsula of Michigan. It may be considered as an advanced post, a sort of watch-tower, placed by the whites in the midst of the Indian nations. . . .
>
> Once a year a vessel sails up the Saginaw to join this stray link in the great European chain which now binds the world. She carries to the new settlement the products of human industry, and in return takes away the fruits of the soil.
>
> Thirty persons, men, women, old people and children, comprised this little society, as yet scarcely formed—an opening seed thrown upon the desert, there to germinate. . . .
>
> . . . In a few years these impenetrable forests will have fallen; the sons of civilization and industry will break the silence on the Saginaw; its echoes will cease; the banks will be imprisoned with quays; its current which now flows on unnoticed and tranquil through a nameless waste, will be stemmed by the prows of vessels. More than a hundred miles sever this solitude from the great European settlements, and we were, perhaps, the last travellers allowed to see its primitive grandeur. So strong

is the impulse that urges the white man to the entire conquest of the New World.

The thought was more than poor old Kish-kau-kou could bear and, it being a long time till next treaty-payment day, he cast an eye about his wigwam for a likely article of barter till it fell upon the portrait of pretty half-remembered Catharine Sanders, whom he had wooed at "Scotia" on the Mohawk so many years before; rushing with the little portrait to the nearest trading post, he swapped Catharine for a quart of whiskey and got gloriously drunk.[5]

Sometime later, Catharine's brother, Jacob G. Sanders, visited the Indian country and found his sister's portrait in the possession of the trader to whom "Kitcha-o," as Sanders called the chief, had traded it. He redeemed it and brought it home to "Scotia," where it rested beside the silhouette of the chief himself until 1871. On December 5th of that year, both silhouettes were presented to Catharine's grandson, Gerard Beekman, by Mrs. Charles P. Sanders of Schenectady; and Catharine's son, James W. Beekman of New York, pasted them, with an account of their history, into the first volume of the Beekman Family Papers now at The New-York Historical Society.

Kish-kau-kou went to the happy hunting ground by his own hand in April 1825. While encamped at a place known as Chene Farm, then a little above Detroit, he was alleged to have killed an Indian in a drunken brawl. He and his son Che-mick were arrested and taken to the fort, though the son, who was thought innocent of the crime, escaped. Awaiting trial, Kish-kau-kou must have considered his case hopeless. Once before—twenty years before, to be exact—he had been indicted for the murder of

[5] At least so we conjecture it. That De Tocqueville's thoughts, though dressed in white-man's images, were hardly more than a poignant echo of Kish-kau-kou's own is a conclusion amply justified by the chief's policy and practices. Whether a fit of depression induced by those thoughts was the true occasion of that unromantic act of barter cannot be proved, though the fact of the exchange as related was vouched for by Jacob G. Sanders who told the story to his nephew, Catharine's son James W. Beekman, who in turn recorded it among the Beekman Papers.

a white man and had escaped punishment because no marshall was brave enough to execute the warrant for his arrest.[6] Now, however, his fate no longer depended upon his own power but upon the problematic justice of his enemies. Rather than face the ignominy of a white-man's hanging, Kish-kau-kou drank a cup of smuggled hemlock in his cell.

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[6] The indictment was handed down in 1805 and a second warrant for his arrest was issued in 1807. Thus, when Kish-kau-kou visited "Scotia" in 1808 he was, in a sense, a fugitive from justice, though it is problematical whether the territorial courts had jurisdiction of acts committed by a chief of an independent nation on soil acknowledged to be his by solemn treaties. It is interesting to speculate whether Catharine's father would have regarded him with so charitable an eye had he known that he was entertaining an indicted murderer.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Ranks of Death: A Medical History of the Conquest of America. By the late Colonel P. M. Ashburn, Medical Corps, United States Army; edited by Frank D. Ashburn. (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1947. xix + 298 pages, biblio., index. $5.00.)

In most popular historical works, it is found that the authors pay undue attention to the results of warfare, of diplomacy, of politics and intrigue, or of commercial advantages that one nation may obtain over another when summing up the historical facts on which to base their conclusions. Though philosophical principles, scientific discoveries, and advancement in literature and art may be mentioned and perhaps some important medical innovation may be referred to, it is seldom that an author fully discusses the importance of disease as an event affecting the progress of history.

This book, *The Ranks of Death*, is, as the author denotes: "A medical history of the conquest of America." It is a chronicle, written in an understandable manner for the layman, of the part in which disease and sickness influenced the settlement of the Americas. It discusses the maladies that were to be found in the New World, at this time of its early history, and those that were brought to it; from whence they came to the Western Hemisphere and how they were introduced; the manner in which disease affected the progress of colonization and the way in which it assisted in the subjugation of the Indians.

The author, Percy Moreau Ashburn, was well fitted for the task of writing this unusual form of history. It is unfortunate that he died before the task was finished. However, his son, Frank A. Ashburn, realizing the importance of this work, rose to the occasion and, by adding some introductory remarks and supplying a few explanations to the text, furnished what was lacking in the manuscript in preparation for publication. Colonel Ashburn of the Medical Corps of the United States Army had seen service in the Philippine Islands, in the Panama Canal Zone, and as a member of the United States Commission to the Republic of Liberia. During this time he had been actively interested in the subject of preventive medicine and in consequence was later detailed as president of an Army Board for the Study of Tropical Diseases. All of this appears to have stimulated an interest in him for collecting data which might be used at a later time for teaching. In consequence he was chosen to command the Medical Field Service School, after which he became Professor of Military Hygiene at West Point, and from there he went to Washington to take up the duties of librarian to the Army Medical Library, the largest of its kind in the world. He had already written a book on military hygiene and while in Washington published his well-known

work, the *History of the Medical Department of the United States Army*.

Colonel Ashburn believes that there were few if any diseases to be found among the American Indians before the white man came to the continents of North and South America and this opinion he supports with plausible facts obtained from archeological and historical documents. Contagious and infectious diseases were brought to the New World to be spread among the susceptible savages, first from Europe and second from Africa. The eruptive fevers, the so-called contagious diseases, were introduced by the early colonists; later, with the importation of negro slaves, malaria and yellow fever came to plague both the white conquerors and their foe, the Indians.

The early settlers suffered mostly from dietary insufficiencies, starvation, nutritional disorders, and vitamin deficiencies such as scurvy and pellagra. Famine actually wiped out, by starvation, entire colonies before relief came. With all this there was the ever-present danger of raids from the savages.

Most historians who have written on the settlement of America, besides paying little attention to the health of the colonists, rarely mention the affect of the communicable diseases in acting as allies of the more or less immune colonists, by assisting them in their warfare of subjugating the Indians who were most susceptible to these contagions and infections which heretofore had been unknown to them. Of these diseases smallpox was the most deadly:

> The conquest of Mexico is one of the most dramatic and astounding events in all history. That a handful of men, possessed of firearms and horses it is true, but depending mainly on the sword as a weapon, should have conquered a great empire of brave people considerably advanced in civilization would pass belief if the facts were less well attested. But it is less remarkable than the ordinary reader of Prescott thinks it, if we consider how smallpox aided. Of this Díaz del Castillo tells us that Narváez, who landed in May 1519, hoping to supersede Cortes, "brought with him a Negro who was in the smallpox, an unfortunate importation for that country, for the disease spread with inconceivable rapidity, and the Indians died by thousands of it. . . ."
>
> As usual, the immense Indian mortality from a disease that scarcely affected and did not kill the Spaniards was attributed to feebleness of constitution, "complexion," and to bathing during the disease. Actually it was due to the fact that smallpox was a new disease to them, one against which they had no sort of immunity, while every Spaniard in the New World had probably had the disease in childhood.

This is merely an example of how smallpox spread among the unprotected savages, resulting in great epidemics which killed more than half of them. In Massachusetts, it is possible that an Indian war was averted by smallpox in 1631; for Increase Mather informs us that: "About this time the Indians began to be quarrelsome touching the Bounds of the

Land which they had sold to the English, but God ended this controversy by sending the smallpox amongst the Indians of Saugust, who were before that time exceeding numerous. Whole Towns of them were swept away."

Alcohol was a weapon used to advantage by the white man against the Indians. It seems that the red man could not partake of it except to excess, making him an easy prey to the settlers in matters of barter. Many became alcoholics, and with their health undermined were easy victims of the white man's plague, tuberculosis. The rapid decline in the Indian population, which commenced soon after the settlement of the east coast of North America and which continued until about fifty years ago, was due not so much to loss of life in battle as it was to their decimation through the ravages of disease, against which they had little if any natural or acquired immunity.

With importation of negroes to be sold as slaves, other diseases were introduced into the New World from Africa; diseases to which few white men and no Indians possessed immunity. To make matters worse, the importation of the black man in large numbers supplied much new fertile soil on which to grow the communicable disease brought from Europe. Colonel Ashburn states that he can find no evidence that either malaria or yellow fever was to be found in the Western Hemisphere before the negro was brought from Africa, where these diseases were present, though the special orders of mosquitoes which are known to disseminate these fevers were indigenous to the tropics of both North and South America.

In the chapter entitled "The Kiss of Death," the controversial question is discussed of whether syphilis was introduced to Europe from the New World. As is well known, Europe suffered from a widespread epidemic of this disease soon after the discovery of America. Because of this it was assumed that Columbus's sailors on returning had brought the disease back with them to the Old World. This assumption has been opposed on many grounds; one of the strongest being that no bones of Indians who died previous to the year 1492 have shown evidence of lesions of syphilis. Nevertheless the controversy has continued. The proponents of the hypothesis have set forth strong arguments in its favor and the opponents have gathered equally strong ones to prove that syphilis was unknown in America until the coming of the white man. Colonel Ashburn discusses this subject most thoroughly, presenting both sides of the question in a judicial manner, in which he cites almost all that has been written concerning it. He himself it seems leans towards the side of the opponents for he concludes by writing:

> It seems probable that the three common and widespread venereal diseases, syphilis, gonorrhea, and chancroid, were introduced to America by the white conquerors. If this be true, they thereby placed upon the poor Indians curses

greater than were inflicted by the bloodthirsty gods of the Aztecs or the Incas of Peru. . . .

Possibly, however, the transfer of syphilis (not of gonorrhea and chancroid) was in the opposite direction, from America to Europe. If so, the Indian thereby inflicted a more potent revenge upon his conquerors than he was ever able to obtain by warfare, cultivated hatred, and studied cruelty, and the end is not yet.

In addition to the main text there is an appendix, containing valuable information for the students and those who wish to delve deeper into this subject. This contains: (a) "Technical Matter Allied with Text"; (b) "List of References Specifically Quoted or Referred to in Text"; (c) "List of References." This last is a most extensive and carefully prepared bibliography covering this most important subject.

This history, a studious composition—for the author has gone to great pains in order to uncover all the literature available upon the subject or in any way be related to it, including works on general history, medical history, and even religious tracts—should be of the utmost value to the future historian who decides to write of the early settlements in America or of the American Indians at the time of the discovery of this continent. In the past, because of lack of information, the historian gave little attention to the relationship between diseases and epidemics, and the progress of history in general. At no time in the history of the world did these factors play a more important part than they did in the conquest of America. With this work of Colonel Ashburn in his hands the future historian will have much important information to be used when evaluating the trend of events that occurred during the early years of the settlement of this country. Besides this, he will find a useful list of references in the complete bibliography accompanying this work, which otherwise he might overlook.

To the more casual reader, whether he be physician or layman, this work is recommended as being interesting and most instructive.

The New-York Historical Society FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D.

The First Trading Post at Kicotan (Kecoughtan) Hampton, Virginia. By JOSEPH B. BRITTINGHAM and ALVIN W. BRITTINGHAM, SR. (Hampton, Va.: [The Authors] 1947. 23 pages, illus., map. $0.50.)

A narrative description of on-the-site excavations presented to prove that the first Colonial trading post in America was established near present Hampton, Va., before 1610. Seventy recovered artifacts are pictured in ten plates. A modern map shows the location of the post and its surroundings.

C. E. B.

Early Memories of Gardiner's Island (The Isle of Wight, New York). By Sarah Diodati Gardiner. Chronology by Abigail Fithian Halsey. [East Hampton, N. Y.: East Hampton Star, 1947.] 123 pages, illus. $5.00.)

This is a pleasant little story relating to what may be the only property in America to remain in the possession of one family for more than three hundred years. It is known as Gardiner's Island. The Indian name, Manchonach, means "the place where many have died" and, according to the Indian deed, the purchase price was "ten coates of trading cloath" delivered by Lion Gardiner, the Governor of Saybrook Fort "at the mouth of the river Kennecticot." The deed is dated "the third day of the month called by the English May in the year by them of their Lord written one thousand six hundred thirty and nyne, 1639." To supplement this deed, Mr. Gardiner was also careful to get a grant from King Charles of England under the date of March 10, 1639 O.S., 1640 N.S., which gives the right to Lion Gardiner and his heirs to enjoy the island "which he hath now in his possession" now and forever upon payment of £5 lawful money of England yearly.

The location of Gardiner's Island is off the shore of Long Island between Montauk and Orient Points, several miles northeast of East Hampton. It contains about 3,000 acres of wooded hills. There Gardiner made friends of the Indians, learned their language, and there his third child, Elizabeth, was born—the first child of English parents to be born within the boundaries of New York State. During his occupancy of the island, the towns of South Hampton, Southold, and East Hampton came into being and, after living on his island ten years, Lion left it to the care of others and moved to East Hampton where many of his descendants have since lived, where Sarah Gardiner lives now, and where this Society purchased the Thompson Homestead in a desire to honor the memory of one of the Gardiner family who, we thought, would like to have his home preserved for the benefit and enlightenment of his old friends and neighbors.

It was during the life of John Gardiner, grandson of Lion, that the island came into its greatest prominence. Those were the days of the privateers—not to confuse them with pirates—and, according to Sarah, it was in June, 1699, that John Gardiner, Lord of the Manor, saw a "strange sloop, carrying six guns hovering near the island." Putting out in a small boat, John soon learned that the sloop was commanded by Captain Kidd, who merely wanted—and got—six sheep for his dinner with a barrel of cider to wash 'em down! Not an unreasonable request, and so grateful was Kidd that he fired a salute and sent a present to Mrs. Gardiner before sailing away.

Something about the Gardiners must have impressed the Captain with their integrity because in a few days he returned and asked permission

to leave—until called for—a chest, a box of gold, a bundle of quilts, and four bales of goods. His men concealed the treasure in some swampy land but, as the Captain was arrested a few days later in Boston, sent to England where he was tried, found guilty, and hanged for murder, it interfered with his plan to return to Gardiner's Island to reclaim his treasure. John apparently knew where it was buried, however, as he went to the swampy land; dug it up, and proceeded to Boston where he delivered it to Lord Bellomont, who was Captain Kidd's partner, taking an itemized receipt dated July 7, 1699, which is still in existence. This is the only part of the story which taxes our credulity: Where was the gray-bearded, one-legged sailor with a scar across his honest face and the chart with secret markings showing by the light of the moon at midnight where the treasure was hid? Surely that traditional picture cannot be lightly set aside, yet there is the receipt, a fine if disappointing contribution to pirate history.

But, from here on, generation after generation of the Gardiner family —there were about a dozen of them—lived tranquilly. John Lyon, proprietor from 1744 to 1816, was an ornithologist of note, kept a record of the birds on the island and remembered much of what happened in the Revolution. Not much is said of Julia Gardiner but at thirty years of age and full of romance she took part in the only "elopement" with a President of the United States in the country's history. This is the account of the wedding which took place in Greenwich Village's Church of the Ascension:

> Here on a pleasant day in June 1844 President John Tyler secretly married his second wife, Julia Gardiner. Miss Gardiner was a spirited young woman thirty years younger than the bridegroom. The ceremony was kept a close secret, probably to avoid the opposition of the President's children, who were not likely to be enthusiastic about a step mother of their own age. After the service the bridal couple left the church in an open barouche behind four white horses and the secret was out.

Now comes the sad part. The historic Manor House on Gardiner's Island was burned to the ground in January of this year. In the house at the time were the caretakers and a writer who were awakened by the crackling flames at 12:30 A.M. and had time only to jump from the windows to save themselves. The grand old landmark was entirely destroyed and with it some fine Colonial furniture and rare antiques. Fortunately, *Early Memories of Gardiner's Island* by Sarah Diodati Gardiner is well illustrated: we see pictures of the Manor House, Kidd's Hollow, an old map of the island, etc., and the profit from the sale of the book through the kindness of Miss Gardiner could go to no worthier cause than to the Library at East Hampton.

The New-York Historical Society GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE

The World of Justus Falckner. By DELBER WALLACE CLARK. (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1946. 189 pages. $2.50.)

The author of this narrative biography in eighteen chapters, a native of Maine and a priest of the Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania and New York, became interested in Justus Falckner, the Lutheran, when he settled in 1931 as rector of an Episcopal church in Coxsackie and also as a curate of another in Athens, New York. He undertook researches to ascertain how it was that episcopacy began in a Dutch community. Search among the local records led him to come upon the influence that Falckner played in that region, and it diverted his attention from his major objective to Falckner. The book is the result; though just when about ready to go to the press the author, after a short illness, died (January, 1946), and the book was published at the end of that year, as we understand, under the supervision of the Rev. Dr. H. J. Kreider, author of *Lutheranism in Colonial New York* (1942).

The style of writing is direct and pleasing, picturesque as a romance, using often the vernacular, and having a popular appeal. The book jacket says it was "written for the understanding and pleasure of laymen, students and pastors." The author made himself familiar on the spot with the geographical places in which Falckner's pastorates were spent, and in revivifying the ancient scenes he frequently uses his own imagination. He has implemented his local researches upon the pioneer researches of Sachse, and also upon new discoveries of manuscript sources that Sachse had not used. He has particularly stressed the personalia of the pioneer settlers and communicants of Lutheranism among the Dutch in the Province of New York, and among the Palatines after they arrived in Queen Anne's reign; and his observations contribute a picture of the social customs and folklore of the people concerned.

Clark depended much upon the researches of the late Julius F. Sachse, whose fine works on *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania* (1895), and *German Sectarians* (1899), have put all in debt to him. It is in the former work (pp. 341–387), that Sachse gave the first biography of Justus Falckner, which he expanded in his privately issued biography of him as a "Bi-Centennial Memorial" (1903). For the Palatines Clark took his cues from Knittle's history of *Palatine Emigration* (1937).

Justus Falckner (1672–1723), like his older brother, Daniel, who brought him to America in 1700, was a son of a Lutheran pastor of Zwickau, in Saxony, whose four sons were given theological education. When Justus left Saxony he was only in his diaconate. He had matriculated at the University of Halle in 1693. His emergence in 1703 occurred under the influence of his Swedish mentor, the Rev. Andreas Rudman. It was on November 24, 1703, that Falckner was ordained at Gloria Dei (Old Swedes) Church at Wicaco on the Delaware (Philadelphia), in the first Lutheran ceremony held in America. Clark's chapter on the ordination is based upon Sachse's account, as a "traditional" picture.

Falckner's ministry began soon after, in the first Lutheran Church (St. Matthew's) of the City of New York, located then at the present Broadway and Rector Street. This congregation he served, among his numerous out stations, till he died, though at that time absent from his city charge. The principal centers of his active ministry were in New York City and Albany; but his missionary stations covered the Hudson Valley, and Hackensack, Raritan, Elizabethtown, and elsewhere from New Jersey to Long Island. His northern activity "extended from Albany to Loonenburg (now Athens), Klickenburg, Four Mile Point, Coxsackie, Kinderhook and Claverack," and wherever Dutch Lutherans were found; and to this he added the German-speaking congregations that were being set up out of the Palatine immigration.

Beginning as a devout pietist in Germany, and a hermit and theosophic mystic in Pennsylvania, he had become a protagonist of Lutheranism against Calvinism, and a missioner in New York. But the aftermath of Queen Anne's War produced the usual pattern of disillusions, emotional and general letdown, and a fraction of Falckner's people "were always carrying on with frayed nerves, and in the mood in which troubles start"; hence "until the end of his days Falckner lived amid petty squabbles over rather sordid things," of "consuming interest in money and pleasures"—a self-indulgence deteriorating to religion. From 1713 on, the last half of his ministry, he labored at a disadvantage. The book has also much to say about Falckner's relations with the other Lutheran pastor, Joshua Kocherthal.

There is an index (9 pp.) of personal and place names. "Source Material" (2 pp.) is inadequately and somewhat erroneously recorded. We point out these errata:—Rensselaers*w*yck is uniformly spelled without the possessive; p. 37, l. 15, "Though" should be "Through"; p. 51, l. 23 should read "could not be seen"; p. 58–9, the dating of Kempe's death is not correctly allocated, because Lord Cornbury arrived in May, 1702, and served till 1707; p. 63, Carl Carmer's name is not Karmer, same error on p. 180; p. 78, l. 5, the Bradford publication of Falckner's tract was in 1708 (not 1709); p. 86, "Schabonichan" is the Indian village of Sapokanikan (later Greenwich Village) on Manhattan Island; p. 110, l. 18 should be "Jacobse" for a female; p. 148 (twice), "swean" should be "seawan," also called seawant; p. 179, the date of *Curieuse Nachrichten* is 1702, not 1902, and Sachse's middle name is misspelled; the praenomen of Berkenmeyer is Christoffel, and his very rare tract *Bedienaars*, etc., was printed at New York by J. P. Zenger in 1728; p. 180, Pearson's work was published (not translated) by Munsell; p. 180, the monograph on the Poughkeepsie name was written by Miss Helen Wilkinson Reynolds; and the very rare tract of Ulrich Simmendinger of 1717, mentioned on p. 152, should have been listed among the "Source Material"; but no doubt these errata are not much chargeable to the author.

Jamaica, L. I. VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

The Housatonic, Puritan River. By Chard Powers Smith. (New York and Toronto: Rinehart & Company, 1946. 542 pages, illus. by Armin Landeck, biblio., index. $3.00.) (The "Rivers of America" series.)

Smaller and smaller grow the rivers in the "Rivers of America" series. I met a man a short time ago who is writing the volume on the Conestoga, which was a creek when I went to school. But after all, does size matter? Little rivers, like little people, may be among the most interesting of all; especially when authors who know their every shoal and ripple, as Chard Powers Smith knows his Housatonic, are assigned to tell their story. The Housatonic—Weatinock—Ousatonuck—how much trouble white men have always had with Indian names!—is palpably Mr. Smith's own best-beloved, native river. His long residence in its valley, his encyclopedic knowledge of it are attested in the more than 500 close-packed pages of information, spiced with good stories and his own caustic editorializing upon the people and forces that have done it harm.

The pleasant thing about the history of a small river is that it is not so much the story of the stream itself—for it has no navigation to speak of—as of its valley, its watershed; and Mr. Smith does not fail to take advantage of this to spread before us a 300-year pageant of the people and the doings of three counties which are among the brightest gems in New England's crown—Berkshire (Massachusetts), Litchfield and Fairfield (Connecticut), which three almost completely contain the river system. He subtitled the book "Puritan River" because "the Puritans were the first truth-seekers here and started the tradition of the valley flowing, and because their affirmative qualities have been in large part preserved, both in the native Yankee and in the successive invasions of intellectuals." He emphasizes the fact that "Puritan" does not necessarily mean a blue-nosed intolerant, as some "blackwashing historians who make a profession of detracting New England" would have us believe. (He effectively disposes of the mythical "Blue Laws," by the way.) The Puritan, he says, "lived or hoped he lived in what he called the State of Grace." This, in immediate fact, "meant that he was a Platonist, finding reality in an idea in his mind or imagination, and directing his life in accordance with the idea."

In accordance with the excellent dictum of the King of Hearts at the famous trial, Mr. Smith begins at the beginning, with "The First Billion and a Half Years," coming down rapidly to the Indian period and the first visit of white men to the mouth of the Housatonic, that of the Dutch Captain Adrian Block on his little vessel, the *Onrust*, in 1614. In adequate and interesting fashion, he covers the Indian occupation, the early white settlements, the French and Indian War, the Revolution and Shays' Rebellion, which teapot uprising was almost entirely a Berkshire County affair. He then swings into the 19th century, when the Housatonic area became an important part of Brooks's "Flowering of New England."

His book contains, I think, just about the best map I have ever seen in a volume of this sort (far superior to others in the River Series), which not only sets forth the topography and the place-names, but—each in his own location—the names of the personages who have given luster to the valley in the past; and what an honor roll it is! Among the natives may be mentioned Ethan Allen; Bronson Alcott; four famous Beechers, including Henry Ward and Mrs. Stowe—born at Litchfield, most beautiful of American villages, during their father Lyman Beecher's sixteen-year pastorate there; P. T. Barnum; John Brown, the abolitionist; William Cullen Bryant; Charles Goodyear; Mark Hopkins; Henry W. Shaw (Josh Billings), "America's leading humorist of the mid-century" (—take that, Artemas Ward and Petroleum V. Nasby!); Roger Sherman; Oliver Wolcott; Colonel Ephraim Williams, Jr., founder of Williams College; and two great families: the Sedgwicks, including two Theodores, jurists and politicians (the younger also a railroad pioneer), Catherine Maria, one of the popular mid-19th-century novelists, and two General Johns, one of the Revolution, the other of the Civil War, killed at Spottsylvania; and the Fields—two David Dudleys and Stephen J., jurists, Cyrus W., capitalist and Atlantic cable builder, Stephen D., inventor, and Henry W., clergyman, who daringly married the governess Henrietta Desportes, who had been involved in one of the most noted of French murder cases, a story which Henry's great-grandniece, Rachel Field, born in Stockbridge, was to mold, ninety years later, into a fine novel, *All This and Heaven, Too.*

And then there were those, not natives, whose presence graced the upper valley, either in summer or the year around, giving it a luster and cultural tone which has never faded: Jonathan Edwards, for example, missionary to the Stockbridge Indians—who, by the way, scouted and fought valiantly for America in the Revolution; and, in the 19th-century golden age, such folk as Thoreau, Melville, Dr. Holmes, and the literary Duyckincks; Longfellow, who found the Old Clock on the Stairs in Pittsfield when it was a quiet little town; Hawthorne, who christened a thicketty glen near his cottage "Tanglewood," thereby providing a name for one of his books, later for the estate on which his chalet stood, and finally, for the Berkshire Music Festival auditorium now standing on the same site; and Fanny Kemble, noted English actress and author, who lived there for years, and who startled the old settlers by galloping about on horseback, climbing the mountains, sometimes in bloomers, "hitching" rides on farmers' wagons, perhaps jumping off when they crossed a purling stream, to strip off her shoes and stockings and go wading, and all this without losing her reputation, which indicates that our forefathers, even in New England, were not as narrow as they are sometimes represented to be.

Life in the cultured atmosphere of the upper valley must have been a pleasant thing in those ante-machine-age years of serenity, when one had

time to savor life unhurriedly. As early as 1828 Captain Basil Hall, the traveler (whom Mr. Smith seems to have overlooked), paused in Stockbridge on his way to Boston by coach, charmed with the scenery and lovely villages of Berkshire County, whose flower gardens and tree-shaded streets reminded him of England; and could an Englishman say more? Mr. Smith quotes figures to show that in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and in *Who's Who* the Housatonic Valley more than holds its own with the rest of the country.

Throughout the book, Mr. Smith pictures, with a pen often dipped in vitriol, the conflict between "the Lord of Ideas and the Devil of Greed," with the Devil getting the upper hand rather too often for the good of society. After the Civil War, what he calls "Fifth Column Culture" invaded the Housatonic. "Having failed to make the valley a hell of slums and factories and local new-rich, the spirit of evil sent in floods of new wealth from outside, a class interested, not in the physical destruction of the valley, but as they supposed, in its beautification." This, which he calls the "Tally-Ho Era," because of the four- and six-horse rigs which the wealthy whips tooled about the countryside with much horn-tooting, began about 1869 and continued until well into the present century. Every eminence was crowned with a gaudy chateau—Mr. Smith, with sardonic relish, quotes the elegant names of thirty-two of them—and they had everything that heart could wish, some even private zoos. One coach-house had formal patterns in colored sands before its door, which must be rearranged every time they were disturbed by wheels and hoofs. This era waned, but some culture persisted all through it and is still manifest there, as we all know. Many of the tough-fibred family strains also weathered everything on their little farms and still inhere. Mr. Smith mentions one particularly exceptious character, a bachelor who "weighs less than a hundred pounds and is tossed around like a chip when he plows. . . . He has never in his life been in anybody else's house, nor taken a meal outside his own. When he goes to a neighbor's, he waits in the shed. . . ." And, nevertheless, is a courteous gentleman.

Long polluted by the factories of Pittsfield, tormented by power developments and "improvements," the pollution is now being largely abated, save down towards tidewater, where Shelton and Derby "seem permanently consecrated to urban filth." But the stream is now threatened with a "recreation" area—canoeing, swimming, hot dogs and amusement concessions—the usual thing, which Mr. Smith envisions as "swarming with urban irresponsibles whose first interest in life is to indulge themselves." Those of us who have seen so many beloved spots of natural beauty and historical association caught under the steam roller of "improvement," may smile frequently at Mr. Smith's fulminations, but always with a deep undercurrent of sympathy. Here is a book that should be in every collection of Americana.

New York City ALVIN F. HARLOW

The Road of the Century: The Story of the New York Central. By Alvin F. Harlow. (New York: Creative Age Press, 1947. 447 pages, illus., biblio., index. $4.00.)

As any student of the works of Alvin F. Harlow must by now be aware, Mr. Harlow bakes a firm, hard loaf, with a crust that in spots is almost flinty. If, however, using your very best knife, you cut carefully through that crust, your effort is properly rewarded. This is perhaps a too elaborate way of saying that Mr. Harlow is essentially a historians' historian, though with touches of a wry humor and an eye that embraces far more than the subject in hand. At the moment, Mr. Harlow's subject in hand is ostensibly the New York Central Railroad, dealt with in a book he has called *The Road of the Century*, but what he presents, along with a highly detailed account of the ninety years (roughly 1825–1915) it took the railway to reach its maturity, is a picture of the organization in relation to the social, political, economic, and moral philosophies of its time. Thus Mr. Harlow's real story is how these philosophies conditioned the creation and the career of the many small railways which bit by bit were absorbed into what is now officially the New York Central System. It is a neat trick, and it is history of a sort unfortunately to insure that the next time Hollywood feels called upon to produce another railway epic, Mr. Harlow will not be asked to serve as technical adviser.

As in all of Mr. Harlow's books, this one is full of interesting characters —innumerable Vanderbilts, George M. Pullman, William Astor, James Gordon Bennett, Andrew Carnegie, to simply scratch the surface—and they are all characters, not caricatures, not merely silhouettes in black or in white. Being a compassionate historian, Mr. Harlow can admire a man's engineering or organizational ability while deploring his ethical decadence. Since this history covers a fairly large portion of the American scene, he has ample opportunity to exercise this talent.

As for the drama in which these characters figure, there is little point in attempting to boil down to capsule form a plot which takes Mr. Harlow over 400 pages to unfold. He can tell it better than anyone else, and it is not especially interesting without the detail with which he embellishes it. And Mr. Harlow has detail to burn. Once, railways competing with the New York State Canal could haul freight only when the canal was frozen, and had to pay to the State Canal Fund the equivalent of the revenue the inoperable canal was thereby losing. Rates were fixed by governmental agency long before the Interstate Commerce Commission, but they were not uniform for railways even in the same territory. The New York & Harlem, now an important underlyer in the New York Central's structure, accidentally began life as the first operator of street cars in New York City. Daniel Drew was a villainous man, but there were State legislators who could give him aces and win hands down. Railway officials now and then ran for important public office, undoubt-

edly with malice aforethought. The Standard Oil Company got its real start when John D. Rockefeller negotiated an ingenious rebate arrangement with the upstate oilfield railways that made it impossible for his competitors to operate. And so it goes.

It is the modern custom to complain bitterly about minor points in a new book on whatever subject. Very well; let it be said that occasionally, so dense are the concentrations of fact, it is difficult to follow Mr. Harlow's narrative, and that this reviewer wishes to quarrel (though not bitterly) over one not especially vital statement. Considering Mr. Harlow's accomplishment, none of this seems at all worth mentioning.

The New Yorker — ROGERS E. M. WHITAKER

Ruggles of New York: A Life of Samuel B. Ruggles. By D. G. BRINTON THOMPSON, Ph.D. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. 222 pages, port., map, biblio., index. $2.75.)

This is eminently a book for New Yorkers, since it deals with one who had no small part in making the city what it is today. Samuel Bulkley Ruggles (1800–1881) was neither a genius nor a titan, but was a man of more than average ability who, by diligence and high purpose, made no small contribution to his age as well as to our own.

It is neither desirable nor possible to list here the multifarious details of Ruggles' busy life—especially so in view of the scholarship and charm of Dr. Thompson's biography. But a listing of the several main interests of Ruggles' life will—in a way—give some measure of the man.

First, Ruggles was probably the best-informed man in New York on certain aspects of Erie Canal operation—and it was this artery which brought the riches of the West to the port of New York. He was a prime mover in establishing a rail route which would confirm to this city the primacy gained it by the canal. In both canal and railroad matters his vision and activity were decidedly important.

Secondly, in the development of New York real estate around Union Square, Gramercy Park, and lower Lexington Avenue, he successfully championed a more open city, with more green spaces and broader avenues for traffic. His vision was of a city where residence might be pleasant and surroundings would be healthful, even though profits should be less.

Thirdly, he would have substituted uniformity for some of the chaos which plagues international intercourse in such matters as coinage, weights, and measures.

Also, by his very life, he set a pattern of interest in education, music, art, the theater, and the Episcopal Church, which, in his day, was of no small significance.

Lastly, Ruggles was a Columbia trustee for the greater part of his active life. When he became a trustee, Columbia was much the same little, local institution it had been a quarter-century before—with one building, a body of fairly well-off, drowsy students, and no advanced instruction of any sort. He was, in no small degree, godfather to the law school and the school of mines and, eventually, of the graduate school itself.

Thompson, who wrote the book, has talent as a biographer. He has the awesome array of bibliographical impedimenta so essential in sound historical scholarship. He has, moreover, a feeling for the larger issues and an ability to treat of them with insight and with skill. Best of all, from the reader's viewpoint, he is not somber, and doesn't approach either Ruggles or himself too reverentially. He writes well, also.

Samuel B. Ruggles was not the man to build a great empire, but it is through men like him that, by God's grace, great institutions and vast cities are builded. Through books like this, their works are made known.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE C. GROCE

America's Williamsburg. By GERALD HORTON BATH; photographs by WENDELL MACRAE. (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1946. 48 pages, 63 illus., map. Paper cover. $0.65.)

The subtitle of this handsomely designed and printed booklet reads: "Why and how the historic Capital of Virginia, oldest and largest of England's thirteen American colonies, has been restored to its Eighteenth Century appearance by John D. Rockefeller, Jr." Mr. Bath's six pages of gracefully compact text sketch "The Significance of Williamsburg" as the 18th-century home of the first representative government in America; "Williamsburg's Place in History" as the apprentice-shop of Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and the birth-place of the Declaration of Rights and the first state constitution; "The Decline of Williamsburg" after the removal of the capital to Richmond in 1779; "The Restoration of Williamsburg" in the present century; and "Williamsburg Today." But the real value and charm of the pamphlet lies in its photogravure reproductions of Duke of Gloucester Street and its buildings before and after restoration and of the re-enacted scenes of Colonial life in formal gardens, stately streets, craftsmen's shops, tavern rooms, and Royal Governor's Palace. If *America's Williamsburg* is a tasteful tourists' lure and souvenir, it is also an excellent advertisement of American Colonial history.

C. E. B.

Manhattan Kaleidoscope. By Frank Weitenkampf. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947. 290 pages with index. $2.75.)

At the outset of his highly entertaining reminiscences of things he has seen and people he has met in New York from 1870 to 1945, Dr. Weitenkampf announces that "the observer generally called 'the boy' in the following pages does not want to talk about himself but about his surroundings—the life about him." While this device gives a unity to his work, "the result at times has the abrupt transitions" of a kaleidoscope, because the particles are often taken out of their chronological order and rearranged to fit into chapters entitled: The Boy in the Streets, Indoor Life, Changing Vistas, The Widening Circle of Acquaintance, Chance Meetings, and Staged Shows. Now, for me, one of the interesting characters in the memoirs of any period is the memorialist, so that I found myself rearranging the particles relating to the author's life into a pattern, and by the time I reached the end of the book his own partial portrait emerged from the pages along with many others.

Certainly the period is interesting in itself. The population of Manhattan in 1870 was but 942,292; in 1910 the population of Greater New York was 3,437,202; and by the year 1940 the population had increased to 7,454,995. During this period, in other words, New York expanded from a comparatively small city to a metropolis second only to London. This period of expansion, one of the greatest spectacles in modern social history, is the scope of Dr. Weitenkampf's volume.

He was born in New York City during 1866 and has lived there all his life. The setting for his earliest recollections includes the district around Tompkins Square, where he was reared, and the neighborhood of Lafayette Place where, in 1881, he began to earn his living as a page in the Astor Library. He had a natural taste for drawing, singing, and writing. Because there was no artificial lighting at the library, the hours were short, so that he had time to develop his talents. He also went frequently to the theatres. In short, he wished to expand in those directions where living was the keenest and most interesting, and the best way to give an idea of his book is to continue his own story.

Wishing to become a political cartoonist, he took classes in drawing at the Art Students' League, where he had as fellow students Peter Newell and Charles Dana Gibson. However, he soon gave up these studies and confined his interests to singing and writing. He sang first as a choir boy and then "for years" in the choirs conducted by Frank Damrosch. He also wrote art news for a paper called the *Epoch* and furnished material for cyclopedias. The latter occupation led to interviews with such varied personalities as Ada Rehan, Mrs. Kendal, William Steinway, A. F. Tait the animal painter, John Rogers the sculptor of once-famous statuettes, and Launt Thompson.

In two articles appearing in the *New York Times* for December 1892

and February 1893, reprinted in the kaleidoscope, he describes his meeting with some of the readers at the Astor Library, among them: Laurence Hutton, Paul Leicester Ford, Albert Ryder, Alden Weir, Charles Dudley Warner, John Fiske, Frederic Remington, Frank Bellew, and Edward Eggleston. In the kaleidoscope he continues to describe the people he saw or met at clubs, dinners, lectures, or in the print room of the New York Public Library, where for years he held the important position of curator.

He has solved the artistic problem of presentation in a manner which lends vividness to his writing: he tells the circumstances under which he saw or met the men he writes about and how well he knew them. Some of them he has known for years; others were "just seen and not met"; while still others were met but once like "ships that pass in the night." Then, he has a gift for bringing the men to life by an apt quotation, a telling phrase, or an entertaining story.

He concludes with a chapter on "staged shows" and in his one-page epilogue he declares that, for him, life continues to be a "stage, a composite picture of never-ending variety." And he communicates this spirit in his book, which will appeal to the layman as well as the social historian of New York during its period of greatest expansion.

The Century Club THEODORE BOLTON

The Genesee Country & the Western New York through which the Genesee so proudly Flows—Being a Brief Discourse on an Exceedingly Fair & Gentle Land. By EDWARD HUNGERFORD & Embellished with Relief Prints by NORMAN KENT. (New York: The Gallery Press, 1946. 24 pages, 17 wood or linoleum cuts, boards. Not for sale.)

Its colophon announces: "This is the first of a series of booklets designed by and printed for Norman Kent. . . ." Text by Edward Hungerford. We permit ourselves no comment lest it reflect our sense of the designer's cruelty in whetting our appetite with so gracefully written, so charmingly illustrated, and so handsomely printed a tidbit, but withholding the means to satisfy it. Only by lucky accident can lovers of the Gene[s]see country and of fine bookmaking obtain a copy of this or its Kentian successors.

C. E. B.

The Metropolitan Life: A Study in Business Growth. By MARQUIS JAMES. (New York: The Viking Press, 1947. viii + 480 pages, illus., indexed. $5.00.)

An insurance company lives and thrives by pooling the risks of individuals, and charging enough for its services to build up reserves against the inevitable pay-off. In the main it invests the premiums of its clients in debt contracts, and so becomes, if successful, a colossal creditor. To grow, it must sell its services to more and more persons and find additional debts to acquire for revenue purposes. It follows that a large insurance company becomes an agent of small folk in the world of big business.

If the company is a mutual institution whose assets belong to its policy holders, it possesses two advantages denied to its competitors—improved opportunity for expansion and the right to stand forth as a service organization rather than one geared to profit only. The transition in business from the profit motive to the service motive is characteristic of the age in which we live, and it has come to pass in the insurance field rather more fully than elsewhere. Consequently, Marquis James's account of the changes wrought in the Metropolitan Life over its life-time of eighty-four years is significant sociology as well as sound financial history.

Metropolitan was a long time a-borning and toddling before it found its feet. The enterprise began as a war-risk venture in the Civil War year of 1863—the National Union Life and Limb Insurance Company. This public-spirited venture originated with Simeon Draper, a merchant who had been provost marshal and who saw in it a way of encouraging enlistments and discouraging bounty-jumping. The new company which had several names in quick succession opened for business on July 21, 1864, at 243 Broadway, opposite City Hall Park, under its second president, Orison Blunt, another prominent local figure. Appomattox changed that insurance picture and Mr. Blunt retired in favor of a seasoned insurance man, Edward A. Jones, who became President of the National Life and Travelers Insurance Company. For a time it issued both life and casualty policies but in 1866 split into two companies—the National Life and the National Travelers. Of the Travelers Dr. James Richardson Dow became President and continued in that post when the company became the Metropolitan in 1868. But the driving force soon came to be his successor, Joseph F. Knapp, who served for twenty years, 1871–91. With the regimes of John R. Hegeman, 1891–1919, Haley Fiske, 1919–29, and F. H. Echer, we are in the big-business age, with Metropolitan moving steadily toward the position of the world's largest life insurance company.

On the way thither there were several severe financial crises to overcome, numerous contests with insurance officials and at least one major investigation. From the latter, Metropolitan emerged in better odor than

its leading competitors, and changed course to meet the new point of view on accounting and expenditures. Thereafter its officers sought to mutualize the company and that important step was completed in 1914. Starting from the profit take-off in 1864, the enterprise had been transformed into a non-profit or service organization in half a century.

In that period various insurance practices deemed detrimental to the public interest had been tried and found wanting. Most spectacular of these was the tontine plan, where the survivor of a group profited by the prior decease of others. On the creative side, Metropolitan pioneered industrial insurance from 1879 on—the "five-and-ten" idea applied to insurance in amounts running for $25 to $1,000 at payments of five cents a week and up. Mr. James's account of the creation of a field organization for door-to-door sales and collections reveals a triumph of commercial organization. This broad coverage brought Metropolitan squarely into the field of public health, where it has led in propaganda, education, surveys, support of research, and provision for stricken policy holders. It is significant that the death rate for Metropolitan's industrial policyholders for such diseases as typhoid and diphtheria is now well under the rate for the general population, whereas in 1911 the reverse was true. Indeed, industrial policy-holders, many of whom are subject to extra job and residence hazards, now have almost as long a life-expectancy as the general population.

In another respect Metropolitan is veering away from established investment practice. Of old it sought only the basic mortgage interest for investment, but the pressure of mounting billions forced acceptance of other securities and now Metropolitan has become a large proprietor of urban real estate developed in huge housing units as an offset to the growing housing shortage. Mr. James notes these projects in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York City, where Stuyvesant Town rates as the "biggest slum clearance project anywhere in the world." Other Metropolitan projects are Parkchester, Peter Cooper Village, and Riverton. These developments fit into the picture which the author limns of Metropolitan in his final paragraph of the book:

"... The bulk of Metropolitan's wealth of seven and a half billions is not held for wealthy people, but for wage earners and others in quite moderate circumstances. The corporation is composed of little people and run in their interest.... That is one way of providing more for the many."

An excellent and enlightening book full of meat for New Yorkers.

New Scotland, New York ARTHUR POUND

Learning How to Behave: A Historical Study of American Etiquette Books. By ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946. ix + 95 pages, biblio., index. $2.00.)

To the student of social history, Professor Schlesinger's slim manual offers more than its title and its size suggest: it demontrates in considerable detail and with full scholarly apparatus how changing manners reflect the greater changes brought about by colonization, pioneering, industrial growth, and wars. And here is one book where the documentation—an amusing sprinkling of quotations from our early guides to good behavior—is the icing on the cake. The bibliography contains a list of separate manuals of etiquette published during three centuries.

In the early days good morals were good manners. Government cooperated with the clergy to make infractions of the rules punishable as crimes. The almanac writers offset this severity with practical advice flavored with a sense of humor. Typical are remarks such as "Keep your eyes wide open before marriage, half shut afterwards," and "He is not well bred that cannot bear ill-breeding in others." One writer made a long story short by telling his readers that good sense is the foundation of good manners. If this simple formula had been followed, etiquette rules might never have reached such a high degree of artificiality.

It was discovered early that the teaching of good manners should begin in the formative years. Eleazer Moody's *The School of Good Manners* was an 18th-century answer to the juvenile problem. George Washington at fifteen read these adult prescriptions but was evidently not satisfied, for he wrote his own set of "Rules of Civility." Both Moody's and Washington's contributions represented an advance over previous codes. However, English authors were mainly relied upon even through the Revolutionary period and many American editions reflected the demand.

Consideration of others was the touchstone of all preceptors but Chesterfield, who counseled his son to learn good manners in order to influence others, consideration for self being the essential thing. This attitude naturally did not find acceptance in America.

After the War of 1812, as frontiersmen gave way to settlers and settlers developed into prosperous pillars of new-states' society, guidance in the responsibilities of the higher social and economic status was required. The schoolhouse was again relied upon to instruct the young, while articles by Eliza Leslie, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Lola Montez the actress described their ideas on the most appropriate conduct for adults. Other authors preferred to stress manners as Christian decency rather than as a set of rules.

The age of the millionaires followed the Civil War. Pretentious living called for an elegance in manners which that generation preferred to

adopt from the French. The middle class did not feel restrained by a lack of wealth in emulating the "social set."

By the time of the first World War the question of proper conduct seemed pretty well settled. After the War, though manners and morals changed, depending more on the "innate fitness of things," etiquette books were still in favor. The older generation found it harder to impose its standards on the younger but decided "that the age was no more wicked than others—it just failed to pull down the shades."

MR. RICHARD J. KOKE
Curator of the Museum

Dr. Schlesinger brings us right up to date in his mention of the "good neighbor policy" and the relation of diplomacy to etiquette, diplomacy being defined as "self-respect by respecting the rights of others," and a modern application of the "do unto others" philosophy.

My only criticism of this unusual history is that it is too short. I would have enjoyed a great deal more of it, with further illustrations from the texts, as I am sure most readers would. Anyone who owns one of these early etiquette manuals, such as William Cobbett's *Advice to Young Men, and (Incidentally) to Young Women, in the Higher and Middle Ranks of Life* (1831) which I possess, knows how entertaining they can be. The remedy for Dr. Schlesinger's brevity is to go to the books he cites. Although manners have been affected by historical changes, they have only suffered when their relationship to ethics has not been clearly defined. Then artificiality results and manners become a disguise to hide human weaknesses rather than a barometer to register character. Such seemingly senseless rules are indicative of, and a prop to, a society not yet sure of itself. But no matter how democratic and freedom-loving we may become, a pattern will always be sought to which to conform. It will be a changing one, with rules flexible enough to accommodate exceptions, but it will exist as long as we remain civilized.

The New-York Historical Society BETTY EZEQUELLE

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

MEET your new Curator of the Museum! On September 16th Mr. Richard J. Koke came to the Society as Curator of the Museum, filling the vacancy created by the resignation of Mr. H. Maxson Holloway. Mr. Koke's qualifications, which admirably fit him for his new position, include experience as Historian at Saratoga National Historical Park, Stillwater, N. Y. (which post he resigned to come to us); as one-time Curator of Stony Point Battlefield Museum, Stony Point, N. Y.; and as Research Consultant for the Hudson Valley Survey. His war record includes service with the Historical Section, U. S. Army, European Theater of Operations, and he is the author of several essays and articles on Revolutionary history in New York State. As Curator of the Museum, Mr. Koke will have charge of the Society's large collection of historical objects as distinguished from the art collections under Mr. Donald A. Shelley, Curator of Paintings and Sculpture.

Several events of importance are planned for the fall season. On Tuesday evening, October 7th, a program commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the consolidation of Greater New York will be held in the auditorium. Speakers for the occasion will include the Honorable Grover A. Whalen, Mr. George McAneny, President of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, and the Borough Presidents of Manhattan, The Bronx, Richmond, and Queens. Following the program, a pictorial exhibition pertaining to New York's five boroughs in connection with the consolidation of 1898 will be opened.

On October 21st a preview for members will open a special exhibition of the sketches and paintings of William R. Miller, whose life and work are discussed on pages 199–211 of this issue of the *Quarterly*.

November 1st marks the private showing of a large exhibition devoted to the work of Frederic Remington. Mr. Harold McCracken, who is assembling the exhibition and is the author of a forthcoming book on Remington, will speak.

St. Nicholas Day will be celebrated on Friday, December 5th, this year, with a program by Mr. and Mrs. George Brown on "The Romance of Musical Boxes," when they will demonstrate and play many music boxes from their large collection. This will be followed by the Society's customary St. Nicholas Day collation.

In the July 1947 issue of the *Quarterly* there appeared an account of Mr. Edward Tempest's visit to this city and his presentation of a gavel as a token of esteem from the Lord Mayor of York, England, to the citizens of New York. In reply to the engrossed testimonial which our Board of Trustees had sent to the Lord Mayor on that occasion, President Beekman has received a letter from Lord Mayor Fred Gaines, dated

"Mansion House, York, 15th July, 1947," expressing thanks "on behalf of the Lady Mayoress and myself and also the citizens of our City."

After his mission in New York was accomplished, Mr. Tempest traveled to the West Coast and back, visiting many of the forty-eight states on the way. He returned to his native Yorkshire in June and with Mr. Tempest's permission there follows a letter which the Society recently received from him:

"Vermont,"
Deighton Bar, Wetherby, Yorks,
23rd, July, 1947.

Dear Mr. Wall,

In recent weeks I have been made aware of your great kindness and thoughtfulness, too, in the safe receipt of photographs, photostat prints of cuttings, and latterly of the *Quarterly*, and the photographs of documents sent to the Mayor of York and the Film Company at Leeds.

It was very good indeed of you to do this, and I shall get endless joy, as will my family, from looking at them from time to time, in the years ahead. The whole trip was grand, and I wish it had been possible to have just spent a little more time amongst you, not alone to sight-see, but to know you all better, to eat of your bounty the longer and to have sent more home as I sped from city to city.

You have a boundless provision, and so often did it reoccur to me, to wonder if you really knew how fortunate you were.

I do not think it is disloyal for me to say that I feel in many ways, your country is a hundred years ahead of my own. In the days before the war, we never saw or benefitted by those things which to the American is commonplace. I wish every British woman had the possibility of making a home that is usual to her American sister. I wish every wee child here could possess the boundless possibilities of the future, which are there at hand for every attender of a kindergarten school.

After so varied and wondrous a peep behind your scenes, and now back again in this still-fighting and struggling Britain, it feels as though we have gigantic walls to climb, and superhuman efforts to make, if but to keep what we now possess in our frugality. I am not surprised that the emigration queue is the longest in the island.

Still, we must go on, and prevent if possible a further warring, and that if but (for myself) because my twin sons are eligible for conscription in another year. Yet, in this great and still-divided world, so many millions of children move forward—to what!!!!

Here, rations still reduce and the winter bodes ill, but, ever and always, behind the barrier of winter even, there is spring; and who knows? even a spring of better understanding, too, for everyone.

Gratefully again I thank you, and all the officers of your Society. If in the future I can again help, I only hope it comes my way.

Your friend,

TED TEMPEST

RECENT ACCESSIONS

WATERCOLOR sketch of a *Spanish-American War Cavalryman* painted by William J. Glackens. *Gift of Mr. Samuel Hopkins Adams.*

Nine manuscript documents (will, bill of sale, receipts, deeds, and conveyances), 1660–1802, of which eight are in Dutch and the majority dated New Haerlem. *Gift of Mr. H. Benson Adriance.*

Manuscript records of the American Institute of the City of New York, dealing mainly with its fairs, from about 1840. *Gift of the American Institute of the City of New York.*

Zincograph plate, with two proof impressions, for engraving of Edwin Booth as "Richelieu" by Frederick Barnard. *Gift of Mrs. John E. Anderson.*

Oil portrait of Charles Tracy Barney (1851–1907), New York banker and father of the donor, painted by Anders Zorn, 1904. *Gift of Mr. James W. Barney.*

Pastel portrait of Miss Cornelia Augusta Beekman in costume for the Bradley-Martin ball. *Gift of Dr. Fenwick Beekman.*

Eighteenth-century New England pine dresser; hanging shelves; 17th-century table with spool turnings; Windsor settee, writing arm chair, and two rockers; Windsor chair-back on whale-bone base probably used as a boat seat; transfer picture on wood of the *Constitution. Gift of Mrs. J. Insley Blair.*

Oil portrait of Henry Woodward Cooper and his brother painted by Daniel Huntington, 1841. *Gift of Mr. John Erving Cooper.*

Volume containing records of 242 marriages performed, 1834–85, by Rev. Dr. William R. Williams, pastor of the Amity Baptist Church, New York City. *Gift of Mrs. Harry Arnold Day.*

Gavel, casket, and block made from timbers of the Guildhall roof, York, and sent to the Society as a symbol of affectionate regard between the Old World and the New. *Gift of Alderman Frank Gaines, Lord Mayor, and the Citizens of York, England.*

Twenty-eight family manuscripts relating to the service of the donor and other members of his family during World Wars I and II. *Gift of Mr. Albert Gallatin.*

Collection of 75 volumes, 75 pamphlets, and 30 periodicals relating principally to transportation. *Gift of Mr. Norvin H. Green.*

Group of 125 obsolete bank notes of the North and South, 67 Southern state bank notes, and 13 Confederate notes. *Gift of Mr. Henry O. Havemeyer.*

Two platters and twelve plates made by Wedgwood with the monogram of William Hill (1751–1826), great-grandfather of the donor, who came to New York City in 1777. *Bequest of Robert Carmer Hill.*

Cane made in London which pulls out to disclose a measure used to determine the height of horses. *Gift of Mr. James Hazen Hyde.*

Miniature of Mrs. Augusta E. Stetson, C.S.D., painted by Miss Hathaway, 1907. *Gift of Miss Louise Kreischer.*

Collection of 894 lantern slides made and used by the donor's father, Charles E. Reynolds, showing views of The Bronx and New York City (houses, buildings, and street scenes), copies of old New York prints, and views of historic buildings in other American cities, together with 34 glass negatives of Bronx and New York City buildings. *Gift of Mrs. Charles A. Kuhner.*

Account books and papers, 1795–1856, of Nehemiah Sweet, Poughkeepsie lumber merchant, relating to Fort Edward and Poughkeepsie; cyphering book of Thomas Sweet of Poughkeepsie with his expense book for 1817, and John Wightman's book of accounts, 1787–92. *Gift of Mr. John Lindmark.*

Oil portrait of Louis De Valois Wilder (b. 1817), New York physician, painted by the donor about 1882. *Gift of Mr. DeWitt M. Lockman.*

Eight manuscript account books, 1830–54, of Barclay and Livingston, commission merchants of New York City, of which firm the donor's grandfather, Robert Mackie, became a member in 1849; letterbook of Henry Barclay, Saugerties, N. Y., 1829–41; five volumes of letterpress copies of letters, four being those of Simon Fraser Mackie, uncle of the donor, New York, 1875–78, and one of Robert Mackie & Son, 1874–79; scrapbook made by the donor's grandmother, Mrs. Robert Mackie (Catherine G. Fraser) for her children, 1845–55; three children's books, and thirty historical volumes. *Gift of Miss Catherine R. B. Mackie.*

Child's dress, Paisley scarf, and a calico wrapper which belonged to the donor's mother, *c.* 1840–60, and a small printed cotton quilt, *c.* 1830, made by the great-aunt of the donor. *Gift of Mr. F. Maurice Newton.*

Linen square woven *c.* 1776 by the great-grandmother of the donor and a Paisley kerchief which belonged to the donor's great-aunt. *Gift of Mrs. F. Maurice Newton.*

Collection of 339 photographic portraits of famous Americans, 1940–47, to be added to the Society's Pach Collection. *Gift of Pach Brothers.*

Piece of wood from a mill at Wickham, near Portsmouth, England, which was rebuilt in 1820 with timbers of the dismantled *Chesapeake.* *Gift of Dr. Eugene H. Pool.*

Original copperplate of the "Connecticut Warbler" engraved by Robert Havell (1793–1878) for John James Audubon's *Birds of America* (No. 138). *Gift of Mrs. Percy R. Pyne in memory of her husband, Percy Rivington Pyne.*

Black velvet scarf which belonged to the donor's mother *c.* 1810; opera hat, worn by the donor, in original box; 10 letters to George A. Treadwell, 1882–94, and a collection of pamphlets gathered by him

relating to Western mines; 6 catalogues of the Brooklyn Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute, 1878–83, and 2 scrapbooks containing material collected by the donor at Yale and during World War I. *Gift of Mr. William A. Robbins.*

Two pairs of high shoes worn by the donor *c.* 1910 and other costume accessories; gas lighter; 47 opera librettos, and 3 autograph albums of Winnifred H. Robbins of Northport, Long Island, 1880–88. *Gift of Mrs. William A. Robbins.*

Collection of 300 manuscripts relating to William Smith, Jr. (1769–1847), of Quebec, historian of Canada, and the estate of his father, Chief Justice William Smith (1728–1793); bills issued to Frederick Hobbs of Maine for each quarter of his four years at Harvard College, 1813–17, and printed order of 1817 commencement exercises. *Gift of Mrs. Fanny Shapiro.*

Landscape painting by Walter M. Oddie, 1848. *Gift of Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr., in memory of Gaius C. Burnap and Jane (Skeel) Burnap.*

Silver tea tray which was the silver wedding anniversary gift to Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Sr., from her husband, June 1, 1872. *Gift of Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr., in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Sr.*

Oil portrait of John Drake, New York merchant, painted by Charles E. Weir, 1842, together with the cane shown in the portrait. *Gift of Miss Nina Sturges Skidmore and Mr. Samuel Tredwell Skidmore, Jr., in memory of their father, Samuel T. Skidmore.*

Miniature on ivory of Charles F. Loss (1765–1822), great-grandfather of the donor, painted by an unidentified artist, and 15 pieces of flat silver made in New York City used by the donor's family. *Gift of Mr. Henry F. von Drehle.*

Wedding dress worn by Anna Whipple Simmons when she married Bernard Henry Wood, June 4, 1884, together with two parasols, *c.* 1880. *Gift of Mrs. Bernard Henry Wood.*

Powder horn inscribed with the name William Starling, the date July 17, 1760, and a plan of Forts Niagara and Ontario commemorating Sir William Johnson's Niagara expedition of 1759; stoneware water jug made by Clark & Fox, Athens, N. Y., *c.* 1830, inscribed *George Edwin Seymour / Commander of Steam-boats / Telegram, Caledonia . . . ;* watercolor of a *Sleighing Scene* by W. Granville Smith, 1896; order signed by Abraham Lincoln, July 2, 1863, for troops to be furnished by 26th District of the State of New York; eight color plates from paintings by Frederic Remington; *Done in the Open*, drawings by Frederic Remington, New York, 1904, and twenty other volumes of historical interest. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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